

## Stop threats against Libya!



U.S. fighter plane F-14 Tomcat similar to those that shot down Libyan planes. Inset, President Ronald Reagan and President-elect George Bush.

### Reagan weighs bombing

BY FRED FELDMAN

U.S. F-14 jets operating from the aircraft carrier *John F. Kennedy* shot down two Libyan planes January 4 over waters less than 100 miles from the coast of the North African country.

U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci claimed that the Libyan planes, which did not open fire, were attacked because they showed "hostile intent." He said the U.S. aircraft were involved in "training operations."

The Libyan government reported that its planes were unarmed and on routine patrol when they were attacked. Libyan head of state Muammar el-Qaddafi called the U.S. action an exercise in "official American terrorism, which is backed by brute force." Libya's ambassador to the United Nations

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### U.S. hands off!

Working people around the world should voice their outrage at the latest U.S. attack on Libya. Washington should be called on to immediately end provocative naval and air operations in the Mediterranean, and withdraw its war fleets and planes.

The claim that Libyan planes were shot down in self-defense has no credibility in light of President Ronald Reagan's public

### EDITORIAL

threat to bomb Libya and the U.S. record of repeated military aggression against this country of 3.8 million people.

In denying any intent to provoke Libya, U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci stressed that the aircraft carrier *John F. Kennedy* was 600 miles from the chemical factory in Libya that Reagan said might be the target of U.S. forces. Even according to Carlucci's version, however, the U.S. fighters had flown from the carrier to less than 100 miles from the Libyan coast. Under the circumstances, a provocative and threatening intention is clearly indicated.

The attacks on Libya are attacks on the right of every country in Asia, Africa, and Latin America to sovereignty and self-determination.

When countries such as Libya refuse to allow Washington to choose and control their leaders, determine their foreign pol-

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## Cuba rally hails 30 years of revolution

BY DEB SHNOOKAL

SANTIAGO DE CUBA, Cuba — "Socialism or death! Marxism-Leninism or death! This is what 'Free homeland or death, we will win,' which we have repeated so many times throughout the years, means today!"

With these words, Cuban President Fidel Castro concluded his speech on January 1, the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution. He was speaking from the same balcony overlooking Céspedes Park in this historic city where he addressed the people of Santiago 30 years ago. At that time, a popular uprising had answered the call by the rebel forces of the July 26 Movement for a general strike on Jan. 1, 1959.

Other central leaders of the Cuban Communist Party were gathered on adjacent balconies during the two-hour speech, which was broadcast on national television.

"Today I say with the deepest conviction that the revolution will move forward because it is truthful, because it is socialist and Marxist-Leninist," Castro said. "Today, 30 years later, we can be sure that our people will always be faithful to the principles of socialism, to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and that steadfastly loyal to these principles, we will fight and work to make our revolution better, to make it more efficient, more perfect."

The example of the Cuban revolutionary process is a beacon, Castro emphasized. The revolution has an enormous responsibility, especially to the peoples of the Third World.

In his Santiago speech, Castro reviewed the events of the final days leading up to Jan. 1, 1959, which he said was not solely the day of victory but also a day of fundamental decisions. He addressed the question of why the Cuban revolution had had a different outcome from all previous revolutions in Latin America and explained how the July 26 Movement had responded to the threat that forces within the army of dictator Fulgencio Batista would carry out a military coup and try to prevent the revolutionary forces from coming to power.

What was decisive, Castro explained,

was that without knowing what was happening in the capital, Havana, the people of Santiago rose up and welcomed the occupation by the rebel army. The revolutionary forces entering Havana under the leadership of commanders Che Guevara and Camilo Cienfuegos were supported by a general strike that totally paralyzed the country and definitely sealed the victory of the people.

Where did the victory of Cuito Cuanavale originate? Castro asked in another part of this speech. He was referring to the defeat of the South African army in March 1988 in southern Angola by the combined forces of Angola, Cuba, and the South West Africa People's Organisation. The roots of that victory, Fidel said, were in the 100-year war against slavery, colonial-

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## Actions to oppose U.S. role in El Salvador

BY HARRY RING

Demonstrations demanding a halt to U.S. intervention in El Salvador will be held across the country this March.

Slated for the weekend of March 18-20, the protests will coincide with the March 19 presidential elections to be staged in El Salvador.

In New York, a major protest march is being projected for Saturday, March 18. On March 20 the Federal Building will be targeted for a nonviolent direct action demonstration, supported by a picketline.

Initiated by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), a national coalition is being set up to organize the actions.

In a telephone interview, Mike Zielinski of the CISPES national staff in Washington said that groups in about 50 cities are already planning to participate and that CISPES hopes to double that number.

Zielinski said that the actions would vary from city to city, including protest marches and nonviolent actions at local military facilities and federal buildings.

More than 160 organizations and individuals have given their support to the project, he said, including elected government officials, union and religious figures, and Central America solidarity and anti-intervention groups.

In New York, CISPES spokesperson Scott Bradwell said he anticipated that the protest would be substantial. "We want to make this the major spring mobilization in

the city against U.S. intervention in El Salvador," he said.

New York CISPES is initiating the action along with the Central American Refugee Committee.

All organizations opposed to U.S. policy in Central America are urged to join the coalition, a CISPES announcement said, and, particularly, to send one or more representatives to the first mobilizing meeting of the coalition.

The meeting will be held Tuesday, January 24, at 7:00 p.m., at the United Church of Christ building, 132 W. 31st St., in Manhattan.

"We're looking for the largest possible coalition of organizations committed to building this action," Bradwell said.

While concrete plans for the protest will be mapped by the coalition meeting, Bradwell indicated that CISPES was thinking in terms of a protest march on March 18 that would culminate at the army recruiting center in Times Square, followed by the Federal Building action on the 20th.

Bradwell pointed to the recent announcement that 1,800 U.S. troops are being dispatched to Honduras for ongoing military maneuvers there. This time they will focus not on the Nicaraguan border, as in the past, but on the Salvadoran border of Honduras.

"It's important," Bradwell declared, "that before the new Bush administration can consolidate its Central America policy, that we get thousands of people out into the

streets.

"Protesters," he continued "should say, 'No, take your hands off Central America. You weren't able to overthrow the government of Nicaragua, and you're not going to be able to escalate the war in El Salvador either.'"

That U.S.-backed war has been expensive for the people of El Salvador.

According to CISPES, more than 1.5 million people — almost one-third of the population — have been driven from their homes by the "scorched earth" policy of the government forces.

And a million Salvadorans have been forced into exile in the United States by the murderous repression.

During the past nine years, Washington has poured more than \$3.6 billion into propping up the Salvadoran government. During that time 70,000 people have been killed, the big majority by government forces and government-controlled death squads.

Sponsors of the March action placed a full-page "National Call to Action" in the January 9 issue of the *Nation* magazine.

CISPES is also encouraging its affiliates to participate in protests in many cities that will be held when Bush is inaugurated January 20, and to make the issue of El Salvador visible in these actions.

And, on January 23, a national call-in is being organized for people to phone the White House demanding a halt to U.S. intervention.



# Anti-African violence spreads in China

BY MARGARET JAYKO

In the wake of a police assault on African students incarcerated outside the eastern city of Nanjing, anti-African protests have spread to two new cities in China: Beijing and Wuhan.

On January 3, some 150 students marched around the campus of the Beijing Languages Institute to protest alleged assaults by African students on Chinese women. They carried banners with such slogans as "Hooligans go home," "Protect women's rights," and "We demand a safe campus." Some 2,000 students also boycotted classes at the school.

The action in the capital was organized in response to reports that a Chinese woman was injured while trying to escape an African student who assaulted her in her dormitory.

"Such things have taken place many times," read a statement distributed by the marchers. "This time we want the authorities to arrest the criminal." One participant was reported to have said, "We're not against all Africans, but only those who molest our women. They must be punished and expelled."

Two African students in Wuhan, in central China, told the *Washington Post* in a phone interview that Chinese students had stoned a foreign students' dormitory at a technical university on December 30. African and Asian students there were later removed to "safer locations."

## Anti-African attacks begin

Over the past 10 years, there have been several outbursts against African, Arab, and South Asian students. But this most recent one is the most serious. It began on December 24 at a student dance at Hehai

University in Nanjing when a gatekeeper demanded that two African men show their identity cards and register the names of their Chinese dates. The Africans refused, and a fight broke out. It lasted for seven hours, until 4:00 a.m.

Eleven Chinese employees of the university were injured, one seriously, and two Africans were slightly injured. The next afternoon, a crowd of Chinese gathered on the streets, chanting, "Punish the assailants!" They attacked the African students' dormitories, destroying televisions, furniture, and everything else they could find. Some people were injured.

Some 140 African students, along with a small number of Nepalese and Pakistanis who were mistaken for Africans and also attacked, left for the train station under police escort. They were hoping to escape to Beijing.

For the next several days, thousands of Chinese workers and students marched through the streets of Nanjing shouting anti-African slogans and charging that foreigners were treated with favoritism. Most chanted slogans such as "Down with Blacks!" and "Black devils!"

## Cops attack African students

Police would not allow the foreign students who had fled to the Nanjing train station to go to Beijing. They were instead forcibly taken to a guest house on the outskirts of Nanjing, with some students being hurt by the cops who dragged them away. Authorities contended they were isolating the students for their own protection. Some students from the United States and Europe accompanied the Africans to show their solidarity.



One of the African students who took refuge in railroad station in Nanjing being pushed by police officers toward a bus that took students to house outside city.

On December 31, the cops attacked the African and Asian students with truncheons and cattle prods for five hours, according to an Associated Press dispatch. The police were trying to arrest a student from Ghana in connection with the December 24 events.

At least 300 police officers surrounded the guest house, ordered the students to come out, and then burst into the building. The 140 students were then taken to a nearby field, and the police demanded that they get on buses. When the students resisted, the police started taking them by force and beating them.

The cops used loudspeakers to order the students to return to their schools. "We tried to tell them that it was not safe to go back," said one of the Africans.

According to a report in the January 3 *New York Times*, five African students were tortured by the police, stripped of their clothes and shoes, and taken outside in the freezing weather where cops beat and shocked them with electric cattle prods.

A student from Mali told a Reuters correspondent that the police applied electric truncheons to the genitals and faces of more than 30 African students during the raid.

While several African students are being detained in connection with the Christmas Eve incident, the authorities announced that no Chinese students would be punished for the subsequent attack in the African students' dormitories.

Most of the students have left the guest house and returned to their schools, but about 50 continue to be held against their will, too afraid to return to their dormitories and not allowed to go anywhere else.

African students first came to China on scholarships in 1959, as part of the government's efforts to develop ties with regimes in African countries. They comprise 0.15 percent of the country's university students. Some 1,600 of the 3,500 foreign students in China are African, and they are mostly at universities in Beijing.

Most of the Africans receive Chinese government scholarships that are several times larger than the stipends Chinese students receive. Their living conditions also tend to be better. At Hehai University, for example, each African has a single room, while Chinese are housed eight to a room.

The Africans are segregated in their own dormitories, and face restrictions on their freedom of movement, making it difficult for them to socialize with anyone else. Many of the Africans stay in China for a long time — up to six years — and can't afford to go home very often.

The vast majority of the African students in China are men, and opposition to their dating of Chinese women is a big theme of the protests.

"The racism here is very striking," Boubacar Traore, a philosophy student from Mali, told reporters. He has lived in China for 10 years. "When we walk on the street, people insult us. They call us Black devils and so on. Even if we're alone, they insult us. And if we're with a girl, they say she's a hooker and is doing it for the money."

The most notable thing about the events is the way the Chinese government has handled it. The Stalinist-led Communist Party has responded administratively and with harsh repressive measures. Rather than waging a political campaign to combat racist attitudes, it denies that there is any racial hostility involved in the current wave of anti-Black actions. Foreign Ministry spokesperson Li Zhaoxing said, "The incident that has occurred in Nanjing is an isolated one, having nothing to do with racial discrimination."

## Rally in Cuba hails revolution

Continued from front page

ism, and imperialism waged by the people of Cuba, culminating in the historic victory 30 years ago. In that war, he stressed, the people of Santiago and Oriente Province had always played a major role, from the time of Antonio Maceo, Máximo Gómez, and Manuel de Céspedes.

The celebration in Santiago de Cuba was one of a number of events commemorating the 30 anniversary. Many international delegations are here in Cuba as part of this celebration.

On December 29 Castro spoke at the opening of the expanded Miguel Enríquez Hospital. At this rally Castro took up the theme of the crucial importance of voluntary work in building socialism. The most important thing, he stressed, was whether the masses participated, whether the masses wanted to participate.

The expanded hospital, which now has a capacity of 1,200 beds, was built by the Sixth Congress Contingent of the Con-

struction Workers Union, made up of volunteer workers from all over the country, and the volunteer labor of the staff and people from the local community. The expansion was completed in record time — less than two years from start to finish.

Castro made special mention of the number of secondary school students who had participated in the construction project. Barbara Morales, a secondary school student who was among the exemplary construction workers; hospital staff; and other volunteers on the platform, had contributed more than 600 hours' labor on the project. The banner behind the platform summed up the spirit of the rally: "These are times of few words and many deeds."

The anniversary celebrations will culminate in Havana on January 4 with the opening of Expo Cuba, a permanent national exhibition center that has been built by the first and most famous of Cuba's large construction brigades, the Blas Roca Contingent.

## New York City

### Report back on 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution

Hear:

**Mary-Alice Waters**

editor of *New International*

Sat., Jan. 14, 7:30 p.m.

Public School 41

116 West 11th St., Manhattan. (near 6th Ave.)

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Coeditors: MARGARET JAYKO and DOUG JENNESS

Circulation Director: NORTON SANDLER

Nicaragua Bureau Director: LARRY SEIGLE

Business Manager: JIM WHITE

Editorial Staff: Susan Apstein, Fred Feldman, Seth Galinsky (Nicaragua), Arthur Hughes, Cindy Jaquith, Susan LaMont, Sam Manuel, Harry Ring, Judy White (Nicaragua).

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# Building communist leadership is theme of Canada conference

BY SAM MANUEL

MONTREAL — Some 100 people met here over the New Year's weekend at a conference organized by the Revolutionary Workers League of Canada.

Participants came from Toronto, Montreal, and other cities in Canada. Several immigrant workers from countries in Central America also participated.

More than 30 came from the United States — many of them members of the Socialist Workers Party or Young Socialist Alliance.

The conference was conducted in English, French, and Spanish.

Many of those attending are members of trade unions, some of which organize workers in industries in both Canada and the United States.

Michel Dugré, RWL candidate for the federal Parliament in last November's Canadian elections, explained that a similar conference was taking place in New Zealand at the same time.

Moreover, he said the conference was one of several national and regional gatherings of socialist workers to be held in North America this year. Six regional socialist conferences will take place in the United States on three weekends in January and February. (See ad on this page.)

The reports and discussions at the conference focused on the coming devastating worldwide depression and social crisis announced by the October 1987 stock market crash.

That crisis will "radically transform politics from one end of the globe to the other," explained RWL Executive Secretary Steve Penner. "The opportunity to build mass communist parties as part of a single world revolutionary movement will be back on the agenda in the imperialist countries, including in the United States and Canada," Penner added.

Fighting for a perspective that seeks to unite all working people in opposition to the bosses' attacks was a central theme of the conference. Two recent political events in Canada highlighted the importance of this approach.

## French-language rights

On December 18 nearly 20,000 French-speaking citizens of Québec and their supporters rallied in defense of French-language rights. French-speaking workers in Canada face systematic discrimination in every sphere of life.

The rally opposed a recent ruling by the Canadian Supreme Court that overturned a section of Québec's Law 101. The law is an affirmative action measure designed to make French the normal language of work, education, government, and commerce in Québec.

"Every advance along these lines strengthens our class against our class enemies. It helps to overcome the sexual, national, lin-

## SWP to run Tom Leonard for mayor of St. Louis

BY PETER BRANDLI

ST. LOUIS — The Socialist Workers Party has nominated Tom Leonard to be its candidate for mayor in the upcoming April 4 municipal elections here.

Leonard, a longtime unionist and party leader, is currently chairperson of the St. Louis SWP.

Also running on the party ticket will be Jim Garrison, SWP candidate for alderman in the 17th Ward. Garrison is an assembly line worker at the Chrysler Plant No. 2 in nearby Fenton, Missouri, and a member of United Auto Workers Local 110.

Nominating petitions for Garrison, containing 120 signatures of 17th Ward residents, have been filed with the election board, and the required \$127 filing fee paid.

The SWP has announced plans to run candidates for municipal office in nearly 30 cities. Other SWP mayoral candidates already nominated are Omari Musa in Chicago, Joel Britton in Los Angeles, and Joe Swanson in Omaha.

guistic, and racial divisions forced on us by our class enemies," RWL leader John Steele explained.

"It is essential that working people and their organizations all across Canada defend Law 101 and the national rights of the Québécois, including their right to adopt their own linguistic policies, against the capitalist rulers' attacks," Steele emphasized. The Québécois are the largest oppressed nationality in Canada.

In the discussion, several participants stressed the fact that Law 101's goal is, however, undermined by its imposition of French-only signs in the province.

"The banning of other languages," Dugré explained, "does not advance the fight against the discrimination suffered by the French-speaking Québécois. It is a divisive and repressive measure."

"The main victims of such measures," Dugré noted, "are immigrant workers, who form a growing component of the working class in Québec and in the rest of Canada."

Many participants also stressed the need for the labor movement to mobilize against a federal government announcement that it will refuse amnesty status to political refugees and against a series of measures proposed for dealing with the refugees. If applied, these new steps will lead to the deportation of thousands currently living in Canada on temporary permits. On January 1 the government began implementing new restrictions on admitting refugees into the country.

## Free trade campaign

During the parliamentary election many trade union officials and leaders of the New Democratic Party, a party linked to the trade unions in Canada, campaigned against the Free Trade Agreement between Canada and the United States. They argued that "Canadian jobs" must be protected against "the Americans."

Workers and farmers have no stake in supporting the trading arrangements among imperialist powers, Steele explained. "Protectionist positions only line us up with our class enemies against workers and farmers in other countries."

The land rights struggle of Native Americans in the Lubicon Lake area of Alberta was also discussed by participants at the gathering. Native Americans in the area have fought for nearly half a century against attempts by oil, mining, and timber companies to take their lands.

## Defense of Mark Curtis

Campaigning to win freedom for Mark Curtis was featured in a report by Margaret Manwaring, who was an RWL candidate for Parliament from Toronto. Curtis is a trade unionist and political activist who was framed up and beaten by the Des Moines, Iowa, cops. He is now serving a 25-year prison sentence.

A substantial number of trade union officials and defenders of civil liberties in Canada have become sponsors of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Curtis' case was a significant topic of discussion at the recent convention of the Ontario Federation of Labor. Also, Canada's National Farmworkers Union has invited supporters of Curtis to participate in their upcoming convention.

Socialist workers in Canada have been particularly active in the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers (ACTWU) unions. Manwaring noted that a special effort is needed to strengthen sales of the socialist publications the *Militant*, *Lutte ouvrière*, *New International*, and *Nouvelle Internationale* at USWA, ACTWU, and other union-organized workplaces.

Manwaring reported on plans to follow up on the 800 individuals who subscribed to the socialist press last fall, with a campaign from January through March to get them to renew their subscriptions.

She also reported on plans to hold rallies in Toronto and Montréal to launch the new Pathfinder title *Thomas Sankara Speaks*. The book is a collection of speeches of the late president and leader of the popular,



Militant/Monica Jones

RWL Executive Secretary Steve Penner speaking to conference participants

democratic revolution in the west African country of Burkina Faso.

## Cuban revolution

A highlight of the weekend was a rally held to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

"Our revolution has encountered many difficulties," said Lourdes Urrutia, Cuban consul general in Montréal. "We have been an example of a struggling people, determined to build a new society. What we have accomplished is there for all to see," Urrutia explained.

"We're not alone here tonight in celebrating 30 years of the Cuban revolution. It

is being celebrated throughout the Americas, in Angola, Namibia, throughout Africa and the world," said Steve Clark, director of Pathfinder Press.

"The Cuban revolution," he noted, "is especially worth celebrating because it is so directly relevant to the kind of leadership, the kind of communist parties that workers and farmers need in Canada, the United States, and throughout the world."

"Building such leaderships of workers and farmers will be key to the fight against what capitalism has in store for us," Clark explained.

Over the course of the conference two participants decided to join the RWL.

## Socialists to host conferences in 6 cities

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance will be hosting regional political conferences in six cities in January and February.

Members and friends of the SWP and YSA and supporters of the *Militant* will hear reports on and discuss major developments in international and U.S. politics today. They

will discuss perspectives in the international campaign to defend Mark Curtis, a framed-up Iowa packing-house worker serving a 25-year jail sentence.

Each conference will feature a public talk by an SWP leader on the political stakes involved in the fight to defend Curtis.

Host city	participating	Host city	participating
<b>January 21-22</b>			
Oakland	Portland San Francisco Seattle	Pittsburgh	Baltimore Charleston Cleveland Detroit Morgantown Washington, DC
<b>January 28-29</b>			
Atlanta	Birmingham Greensboro Houston Miami	Chicago	Austin, Minn. Des Moines Kansas City Milwaukee Omaha St. Louis Twin Cities
<b>February 4-5</b>			
Los Angeles	Phoenix Price, Utah Salt Lake City	New York City	Boston Brooklyn Newark Philadelphia

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## The Political Fight to Free Mark Curtis

Hear **John Gaige** National farm director for the Socialist Workers Party and SWP organizer in Des Moines, Iowa.

**San Francisco, Sat., Jan. 21, 7 p.m.**

**ILWU Local 34 Hall**

**34 Berry Street**

For more information call (415) 282-6255 or (415) 420-1165.

Hear **James Warren** Socialist Workers Party national organization secretary.

**Pittsburgh, Sat., Jan. 21, 7 p.m.**

**Sewell Center, Robt. Morris Business College**

**Narrows Run Road**

(near Days Inn Motel at airport)

For more information call (412) 362-6767.



# Only 'crime' — fighting for immigrant rights

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who is serving 25 years in jail on frame-up charges of rape and burglary. The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is leading an international campaign to fight for justice for Curtis. To contact the committee, write Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1695.

At a recent meeting of the Trade Union Branch of the National Communications Union, representing more than 2,500 workers within British Telecom London,

black persons who are attacked find it impossible to obtain justice. Mark Curtis has not been given a fair trial and we demand that his conviction be overturned and that he is set free. We also demand that the officers who assaulted him face criminal prosecution."

The *Transport Review*, newspaper of the NUR, published a "Mark Curtis appeal" in its November 25 issue. Initiated by the Streatham NUR branch, it "asks all other branches of the union to help them to raise solidarity for a worker in the United States, Mark Curtis, who is the



G.M. Cookson  
Streatham branch of Britain's National Union of Railwaymen is urging support for Curtis.

many supporters of his successful 11-year battle to force the U.S. government to grant him permanent residency.

Along with explaining the significance of this victory for all workers, particularly immigrants, the Mexican-born leader of the Socialist Workers Party urged everyone to become sponsors of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

A highlight of his Washington visit was a reception at the home of a Curtis defense activist, where a videotape was shown of portions of Curtis' September 1988 trial on rape and burglary charges. The program, along with the discussion that followed, convinced several of those present to sign up as sponsors, including Gerry Condon of the Veterans Peace Convoy.

Among those Marroquín met with during his tour were aides to congressmen Mickey Leland (Texas), Ronald Dellums (California), and William Richardson (New Mexico); Guillermo Chavez, Methodist Church; Washington D.C. Councilwoman Hilda Mason; Richard Womack, Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO; and Francisco Acosta, Washington, D.C., representative of the Salvadoran union federation FENASTRAS.

Marroquín found that many people were aware of the divisive, reactionary activities of the Workers League, a sect which is leading an international slander campaign against the Curtis defense effort. Carlotta Scott, an administrative assistant to Dellums, commented, "Those of us who do community work are familiar with how the Workers League operates. They prey on those already depressed and oppressed and seek to sow the seeds of disharmony and disunity."

Susie Winsten from Washington, D.C., contributed to this column.

## DEFEND MARK CURTIS!

"the meeting's attention was drawn to the current plight of one Mark Curtis," wrote branch secretary R.G. Burch to Polk County prosecutor James Smith in Des Moines.

"Our meeting was obviously very disturbed to learn of these events, and has instructed me to write to you, on behalf of our members, expressing our deep regret that such actions should have occurred, and equally to add our voice to the active campaign seeking the release of Mark Curtis."

The Wimbledon Branch of the National Union of Railwaymen (NUR) also wrote to Smith. "We are outraged that Mark Curtis is facing a 25-year jail sentence for a crime he did not commit. The only 'real crime' that Mark Curtis is guilty of, in the eyes of the Police, is that he has spent his life fighting for the rights of immigrant workers, women's rights, and against racism.

"We condemn the cynicism and hypocrisy behind the charge of raping a black woman when in fact most women who are raped and

victim of a travesty of justice."

The Dec. 12, 1988, issue of the Nicaraguan daily *El Nuevo Diario* ran an article by Orlando Pineda titled "Human Rights in the United States," which included a section on the frame-up of Curtis.

"The ruling class of the United States," he wrote, has systematically "scoffed and jeered not only at human rights within the country, but has also violated them in other countries, against the most elementary principles of international law."

The author quoted several articles of the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man, to which Washington is a signatory, and showed how the U.S. government has violated them, especially in respect to the discriminatory treatment meted out to Blacks, Latinos, Native Americans, and women workers.

Another way that human rights are violated in the United States, continued Pineda, is the abuse of peace activists and union leaders, citing Curtis as an example.

Charged with a criminal act, he wrote, Curtis was condemned to years in prison "by a court that assumed him guilty from the beginning in spite of overwhelming evidence of his innocence."

Pineda reported several of the ways that Curtis' rights were violated during the trial, including the exclusion of key defense evidence.

Curtis, says Pineda, is an example of the real situation of human

rights in the country that is "the ideal of Western democracy and Christian civilization." A system of government, he concluded, "that against all justice and reason" tramples on the rights of peoples from Panama to Nicaragua, "what won't it be capable of doing to its own citizens?"

Héctor Marroquín stopped in Washington, D.C., in December as part of his national speaking tour. While there he thanked the

## Curtis defense committee wins 1,000 new sponsors

BY PRISCILLA SCHENK

DES MOINES, Iowa — One thousand endorsers of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee have been won in the first month of a campaign to win new sponsors to the committee.

Curtis, a unionist and political activist, is serving 25 years in an Iowa prison on phony rape and burglary charges.

The defense committee has just printed stationery listing an impressive 130 prominent people who have added their names as endorsers. "This graphically shows the political breadth and international scope of the endorsers we have won to support Mark's fight thus far," said defense committee coordinator Stu Singer.

Among the sponsors listed on the letterhead are union officials Kathy Andrade, education director, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 23-25, New York; Humberto Camacho, president, United Electrical Workers District 10, Los Angeles; Samuel Downey, president, United Auto Workers Local 270, Des Moines; R.T. Griffin, president, Central Arizona Labor Council; Amadou Guirou, general secretary, Socialist Organization of Workers, Senegal; Andre Kolompar, president, Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Toronto; T.J. Lauritsen, president, United Food and Commercial Workers Local 230, Ottumwa, Iowa; Peter Mahlangu, South African Congress of Trade Unions representative in Canada.

They include farm activists George Paris, Epes, Alabama; Carroll Nearmyer, president, Iowa American Agriculture Movement; and Merle Hansen.

Among the civil rights and Black rights activists are Anne Braden; Eddie Carthan, Tchula, Mississippi; Edna Griffin, Des Moines; Johnny "Imani" Harris, prisoner, Alabama; Dudley Laws, Black Action De-



Southern Advocate/Ted Quant  
Curtis sponsor Eddie Carthan (center) with rest of "Tchula Seven," victims of racist frame-up in Mississippi in the early 1980s.

fence Committee, Toronto; Rowena Moore, Malcolm X Memorial Foundation, Omaha, Nebraska; Mac Warren, New York; Frank Wilkinson, National Committee Against Repressive Legislation; and Abraham Woods, Jr., president, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Birmingham, Alabama.

Included in the list of solidarity, antiwar, and immigrants' rights activists are Alison Acker, Central American Solidarity Network, Ontario, Canada; Leslie Cagan, Mobilization for Survival; Michele Costa, Solidarity Brigades coordinator, Nicaragua Network; Tom Hansen, Pastors for Peace, Detroit; Gerard Jean-Juste, executive di-

rector, Haitian Refugee Center, Miami; Darlene Kalke, executive director, Center for Immigrants Rights; David Linder and John Linder; Bob Livesey, Veterans Peace Convoy; Héctor Marroquín, immigrant rights fighter; Yvonne Meléndez, Puerto Rico/Hartford 15; and Peter Schey, executive director, National Center for Immigrants' Rights.

Other listed endorsers include Ben Dupuy, editor, *Haiti-Progress*; Andrés Gómez, editor, *Areito* magazine; Nick Castle, movie director; Jack Barnes, national secretary, Socialist Workers Party; Freedom Socialist Party, Washington State; Bernadette Devlin McAliskey; Dominican Workers Party; David Ga-

kunzi, International Thomas Sankara Association, France; Alvaro Hernández, Prisoners United for Revolutionary Education; Greg McCartan, national secretary, Young Socialist Alliance; Terence Marryshow, Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement, Grenada; Katalina Montero, Communist Party, Seattle; Sid Peck; Steve Penner, executive director, Revolutionary Workers League, Canada; Don Rojas, Anti-Imperialist Organizations of the Caribbean and Central America; and Piri Thomas, poet and author.

To receive materials and copies of the letterhead write to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311.



# Farmers' experiences help them grasp stakes in Curtis frame-up

BY MARGARET JAYKO

(Eleventh of a series)

DES MOINES, Iowa — "Iowa dirt turns to gold again; farmland's value soars 20.4% in '88" read the banner headline of the Dec. 17, 1988, *Des Moines Register*. Given that agriculture is the state's largest industry, land prices have an important impact on all social classes here.

Between 1981 and 1986, prices on farmland had plunged 63 percent, from a record average of \$2,147 an acre to \$787 an acre. It is estimated that in the past five years, partly as a result of plummeting land prices, which erodes the collateral farmers

## The Mark Curtis Story



can put up for loans, 20,000 Iowa families have been forced from the land. The latest increase, however, only puts the price of land per acre at \$1,054, still less than half the 1981 record average.

This *Register* story was one of many media reports in the last several months about Iowa's economic upswing due to agriculture's newfound financial health. But even a cursory look beyond the headlines shows that workers and farmers in Iowa's rural areas face severe — and worsening — economic and social problems.

### Foreclosures continue

- Some 3,000 Iowa farmers were among the 80,000 farmers nationwide who began receiving notices late last year from the Farmers Home Administration because they were 180 days past due on their loan payments. Sen. Patrick Leahy (D.-Vt.), Senate Agriculture Committee chair, predicted that from 9,000 to 10,000 farms will actually be foreclosed on in the near future.

- The lead item in the "Agribusiness" section of the Nov. 27, 1988, *Des Moines Register* reported that more than one-third of Iowa's farm equipment dealers — 257 of 736 — closed their doors between 1981 and 1988 as a result of the farm crisis. *Register* business writer Gene Erb said the figures reflected "the longest, most severe farm equipment industry depression in at least 50 years."

- There are 15,600 workers employed in farm equipment manufacturing in Iowa today — about half the record 31,000 who worked in the industry in early 1980.

- Iowa's official poverty rate is 12.7 percent, as compared to 10.1 percent in 1979. (For a family of four, a poverty-level income is \$11,650, according to federal guidelines.) In Iowa's rural counties the rate tends to be substantially higher. Eleven rural counties have poverty rates exceeding 20 percent, and in another 42 rural counties, 15 to 20 percent of the population is classified as poor.

- A farm safety conference held in Des Moines at the end of September discussed the "epidemic of tragedies in farming," referring to the more than 2,000 farm-related deaths each year and 160,000 serious acci-

dents nationwide that leave farm workers permanently maimed. According to a survey conducted last summer of 478 Iowa farmers and 159 New York farmers, there are five times more deaths in farming than in any other industry and three times as many accidents. The survey also found that farmers consider health and safety a more important issue than commodity prices or soil erosion.

### Farmer-labor alliance

The farm crisis has generated one of the longest periods of sustained protests waged by farmers in this century. Rallies, marches, sit-ins, and tractorcades over the past decade have involved tens of thousands of farmers and their supporters in the union movement, the Black community, and among students. Even with the current relative ebb in direct actions, farmers continue to organize to defend their livelihoods.

In the course of these struggles, fighting farmers have begun to forge an alliance with striking packinghouse workers, auto workers, and other unionists. They have received support from Black and Latino communities and become more conscious of the especially severe problems faced by farmers who are Black. Farm women have been inspired to begin organizing themselves to deal with their special problems as rural women.

And a layer of militant-minded farmers are beginning to see themselves as part of the world — a world where millions of children starve as a result of U.S. domination and exploitation, and a world where workers' and farmers' revolutions have begun to solve some of the pressing problems facing working people.

Many farmers have visited Nicaragua and are inspired by the gains the revolution has brought to rural toilers in that impoverished country. U.S. farmers have participated in actions protesting the U.S.-run contra war.

The struggles of exploited farmers, combined with the fightback by packinghouse and other workers against concession demands by the employers, led the Socialist Workers Party in 1986 to set up new party branches in Des Moines; Omaha, Nebraska; and Austin, Minnesota.

Curtis was one of the party members who moved to Des Moines, where he got a job at the Swift meat-packing plant, joined local 431 of the United Food and Commercial Workers, and became active in his union and in other political activities in the city and region. He talked to his fellow workers about the problems facing farmers, and the importance of the labor movement actively backing the struggles of exploited farmers.

When Curtis was arrested on the evening of March 4, 1988, on phony rape charges, most of the activists he worked with were attending a Rural Women's Conference at the Hotel Fort Des Moines.

The first work in defense of Curtis took place at that farm conference, with Curtis' fellow party members approaching other activists, letting them know he was arrested and seeking their help to get him out of jail.

### 'Wrong about farmers'

In a speech he gave at the Sept. 4, 1988, international defense rally for Curtis, on the eve of the trial, SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes pointed out that the ruling class misjudged what the response would be to this frame-up.

The main thing they misestimated, he said, was "what has been happening in the world. What's been happening to farmers. What's been happening in Africa. What's been happening in Central America. What's been happening not to extraordinary people, but the ordinary people in the last time period."

The powers that be didn't expect broad forces, on an international scale, some of which were represented at that rally, to come together in spite of diverse political views to defend Curtis.

The executive board of the Iowa State



Militant/Jeff Powers

A 1985 farm protest in Missouri, which auto union members participated in. Curtis is one of those unionists who advocates alliance between farmers, workers.

American Agriculture Movement sent its president, Carroll Nearmyer, to speak to the meeting. He's been a Curtis supporter from the beginning. Two other farmers from the AAM also attended.

Describing how the courts treat farmers facing foreclosure, Nearmyer told a moving story of one farmer who was found guilty of trespassing on his own farm, as his hogs were being taken away by the sheriff's office. The farmer was sentenced to 60 days in jail.

### Fighting farmers support Curtis

During Curtis' trial, nine leaders and members of family farm organizations issued a statement in support of Curtis that explained why they support him.

"We have been active participants in the farm crisis for many years," they wrote. "We have stood with farmers losing their land because of agricultural policy that forces us to sell our products under our cost of production. We then cannot make payments on our farms and in come the big lending institutions that foreclose on us, forcing us into a court system that is totally unfair."

"We have seen farmers arrested, jailed, and convicted for 'trespassing' on their own farms while 'officers of the law' destroyed machinery and killed livestock. We have seen evidence for the banks allowed in courtrooms while evidence for the farmers is not allowed. We have seen farmers denied all rights."

"This is the kind of justice we're looking at in a country that's supposed to have free-

dom and human rights.

"These experiences have made it easier for us to understand Mark's fight."

"We have stood with farmers fighting injustice and now we stand with Mark Curtis. Drop the charges! Prosecute the cops who beat him!"

The signers included Wayne Easter, president, National Farmers Union of Canada; Nearmyer; and Marvin Porter, a farmer sentenced to one year in prison for fighting foreclosure.

Several farmers attended Curtis' trial, including Harold Dunkelberger, an Iowa farmer who arrived after joining other farmers in protesting a bank's attempt to drive a family off their land near Perry, Iowa. And during the trial, Curtis supporters attended farm protests and meetings to express their solidarity with the farmers and to gather new support for the Curtis defense effort.

### Not all farm activists back defense

Some activists in the farm struggle have campaigned against the Curtis defense effort, cautioning others not to support it as well.

Kathleen Fitzgerald, a Northwest Airlines worker in Detroit and an active member of International Association of Machinists Local Lodge 141, has participated in farm demonstrations and meetings in several states in the Midwest in the past several years, helping to link up labor and farmers. During Curtis' trial, she was asked by the defense committee to help or-

Continued on Page 21

## How you can help

- Win sponsors for the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.** So far, 1,000 people from around the world have signed cards adding their names as sponsors. They include union officers, farm activists, government officials and leaders of political parties, antiracist and women's rights spokespersons, prominent civil libertarians, student leaders, and other frame-up victims.

Sponsor cards are available from the defense committee, along with a variety of literature on the case. Buttons that read: "Justice for Mark Curtis! An injury to one is an injury to all!" are also available.

- Raise money.** The defense committee needs to raise \$50,000 in order to cover legal and publicity expenses. Con-

tributions should be sent to the Des Moines defense committee. (Checks for large tax-deductible contributions may be made out to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Inc.)

- Write to Mark Curtis.** He is incarcerated in the Iowa State Men's Reformatory in Anamosa, Iowa. He can receive letters only, not packages of any sort or money. Address letters to: Mark S. Curtis, No.805338A, Box B, Anamosa, Iowa 52205. The defense committee would like to receive copies of the correspondence.

**Contact the Mark Curtis Defense Committee at Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1695.**

Mark Curtis is a packinghouse worker, unionist, and political activist in Des Moines, Iowa. On Sept. 14, 1988, he was convicted on frame-up charges of sexual abuse and burglary. He was sentenced to serve 25 years in jail.

Unionists, farmers, and youth around the world recognize that Curtis is one of those workers who are starting to stand up and fight back against the employers and their government. In their thousands, working people are beginning to join the fight for justice for Curtis.

The Mark Curtis Story is a multipart series that describes what happened to Curtis, where it fits into the class struggle, and the big stakes for working people in the fight against this frame-up.



# 'Barricada' column poses questions on economic policy in Nicaragua

In 1988 the Nicaraguan government implemented a series of economic policy adjustments in response to the country's worsening economic crisis.

In February the government sharply devalued the córdoba and cut back on many subsidies to farmers and state-owned companies. The February measures are often referred to in Nicaragua as the "monetary reform" because they were accompanied by a change in the currency from "old córdobas" to "new córdobas."

In June President Daniel Ortega announced further changes in economic policy. These included steps away from government efforts to regulate prices and wages, and toward letting "free market" forces work in an attempt to increase efficiency and productivity.

How have these policies affected the workers and peasants of Nicaragua? What is the relationship between the discussion about these economic measures and the challenge of increasing class-consciousness and political understanding in Nicaragua?

These questions are being discussed, directly and indirectly, by many revolutionaries in Nicaragua. One point of view touching on some of them was presented in the following opinion column by Francisco López, the director of the Nicaraguan Institute for Economic and Social Research (INIES). The article was published, in two parts, in the November 24 and 25 editions of *Barricada*, the daily paper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

The translation, as well as the title and subheads, are by the *Militant*.

\* \* \*

In recent years there has been a lot of emphasis on the character of the period the Nicaraguan revolution is living through. Stressing that this period has characteristics similar to other revolutionary processes, it has been labeled a period of transition toward socialism.

Undoubtedly, this period of transition is one of violent class struggles. One of its fundamental characteristics is that it maintains at its heart the predominance of commodity relations, and, therefore, also diverse property forms. This characteristic is fundamental to all the transition processes that have occurred, at least during this century.

But, in addition, we can mention some other peculiarities of the transition period. These include the policy of alliances, the role of the state, the organization of labor, and the problem of the economic policies implemented. It is also important to mention the external, geopolitical factors, and, of course, the dominant position of the popular sectors.

We point out these characteristics so as to situate the reader in the period the Nicaraguan revolution is living through and to indicate the importance that economic policies have during this period, since the economic question becomes the central one.

It is in this context that we must place the monetary reform and all the economic policies implemented since the triumph of the revolution. It would be incorrect to say that the revolution, beginning with the monetary reform (and taking as a starting point all the reformulations of economic policy that have taken place since 1985), is moving toward a new economic model.

The characteristics of the transition process the Nicaraguan revolution is going through do not allow such an assertion. Rather, the characteristics of this process, and those displayed over time by all revolutions of this century, permit us to assert that precisely this period we know as the transition is characterized by not having any type of model.

It is characterized by the marches and countermarches, the steps forward and

steps backward, that have to be taken during the transition; by the policy of alliances that must be established; by the role of the state; and above all, by the dominant position of the popular sectors.

That is why it is impossible to even speak of an economic model during the transition. What revolutions really do during this period is precisely to try to exist, to strengthen the revolutionary process, and to counteract the aggression they are victims of. And they must have very flexible positions during this period, utilizing all possible openings to move forward in building the new society.

This is important in developing an overall analysis of our transition period. However, we are very concerned that — starting with the monetary reform in February of this year, and especially since the deepening of those measures in June — more and more of the analyses of economic policy dwell on the technical sides, from strictly monetarist points of view.

## Successes and failures

Truthfully, we think that the policy of adjustments — as some call it — or the monetary reform promoted by the revolutionary government, has had some successes. It has also had its failures. We cannot say categorically that it has been either a failure or a success.

Nonetheless, we think that often the analyses have neglected to focus on the active role the strategic allies of the revolution must play. We are referring specifically to the agricultural and industrial workers, the peasants, the small producers, and those technical and professional sectors closely linked to production in our country.

The monetary reform has been a very heavy blow to wage workers in general, given that it has mainly affected this sector. And we must not forget to mention the country's small artisan producers and small industries, which have also been dealt a blow.

But our concern is really that most of the analyses and commentaries center on extremely technical questions. This is all well and good. But at the same time they must not disregard the aspect we consider substantive in a revolutionary process: the greater weight that popular participation must have in the formulation and reformulation of economic policy.

## Decline in mass mobilization

It is no secret to anyone that one of the fundamental characteristics of the Nicaraguan revolution is precisely its popular character. However, we view with concern the fact that in the last few years the mobilizations of the masses have gradually become more and more limited. These mobilizations took on such important tasks as the campaigns for literacy, popular health, and voluntary labor. These campaigns were really exciting, mobilizing, and consciousness-raising.

At the same time, top-down styles of leadership in some organizations, a lack of explanation of the causes of problems, bureaucratic styles of work that have alienated certain organizations from their membership, and an absence of serious analysis and political-ideological debate have contributed to weakening the mobilization of the broad sectors that are strategic allies of the revolution.

It is true that certain types of participation in governmental or institutional bodies have been maintained, for example, in the National Assembly. But it is no less true that there are still political-ideological arenas where the organized sectors of the population, the organized popular sectors, have not yet managed to express themselves.

Often this is because of lack of con-



Militant/Michael Baumann

Selling sodas and fruit on a Managua street corner to make a living. Nicaraguan government's monetary reform, says Francisco López, "has been a very heavy blow" to workers and small producers.

sciousness. Many times, it is the result of a lack of explanation. Frequently, too — why not say it? — it is the result of the predominance, among some *compañeros* who work for the state, of somewhat technocratic attitudes and a certain disdain for the initiatives and level of participation of the popular sectors.

## Profitability of companies

There has begun to be a lot of talk about the profitability of companies, and about the fact that the monetary reform is aimed, among other things, at improving the chances of bringing under control the macroeconomic imbalance the country has faced (a product, among other things, of the war, government policies, and indiscriminate subsidies). Therefore, we think it is timely and objective to point out also that, although the monetary reform tries to maximize the health of our economy and make companies profitable and efficient, it is necessary to go into this side of things more deeply. Preliminary studies made since the start of the reform indicate that this profitability is the result of constant price increases on the one hand, and a progressive decline in the conditions of production workers on the other. This deterioration has been so great that we do not believe at this time the workers can reproduce their labor power.

The experiences of revolutions in other countries clearly show us that tenacity and sacrifice by those classes allied strategically to the revolution are needed in order to forge a more just society. But we also know that this sacrifice is made possible and produced by daily efforts to strengthen the revolutionary values and consciousness of these classes. Not a consciousness of themselves as a class in itself, that they belong to such and such a class, but a consciousness for themselves, ready to struggle and defend the revolution.

## Cuban troops returning from Angola will boost aid project in Nicaragua

The withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola will provide thousands of workers for construction projects in Cuba and in rebuilding the hurricane-torn city of Bluefields, Nicaragua, Fidel Castro said in mid-December.

The Cuban president made his remarks shortly before the signing of an accord that takes a big step toward ending the U.S.- and South African-run war against Angola and advancing the struggle for the independence of Namibia. As part of the accord, the tens of thousands of Cuban soldiers stationed in Angola to help defend that country will be withdrawn over a two-and-a-half year period.

Castro said the returning volunteers will mean a bigger work force in Cuba to carry out development projects there, as well as to continue internationalist solidarity with

We must not be afraid to utilize the categories and laws of commodity exchange. During the transition that is the way it is, and certain laws of underdeveloped capitalism will predominate. But this makes it all the more necessary to carry out political-ideological education more forcefully among the classes that are the strategic allies of the revolution, and among all those sectors that consciously side with the revolutionary process.

In this sense it is indispensable to undertake real educational campaigns of a popular character. These should center their attention on discussion of economic problems, an important axis of the entire political-ideological struggle that we are beginning to confront.

Moreover, we must stimulate more vigorously those mechanisms and channels of rank-and-file participation — workers' control, community control, etc. — that make it possible to strengthen consciousness, and are an important exercise of popular democracy.

In this regard, Che Guevara pointed out: "It is still necessary to deepen his conscious participation, individual and collective, in all the mechanisms of management and production, and to link this to the idea of the need for technical and ideological education, so that he sees how closely interdependent these processes are and how their advancement is parallel." (*Socialism and Man in Cuba*).

Thus, we must maximize efforts not only on the level of material production. We must also redouble efforts in the areas of ideological education, of revolutionary morale and revolutionary spirit, and the level of participation of the ranks. We must insist that, despite all internal and external obstacles, despite all limitations and scarcities, despite the destruction caused by Hurricane Joan, this revolution is marching toward the construction of socialism.

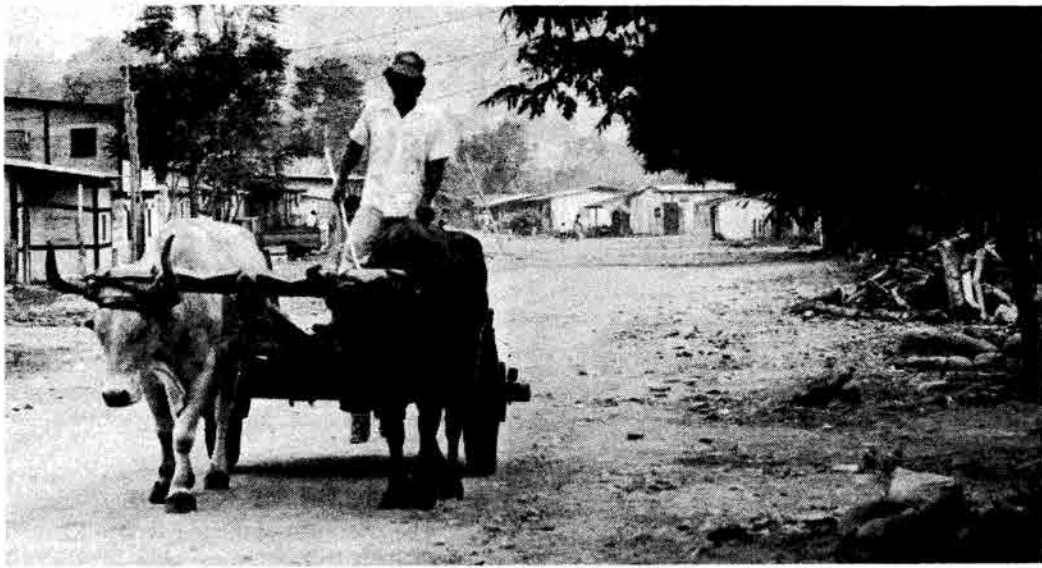
other countries.

Saying the Cuban government has "ambitious plans" for 1989, he stressed the building of a new airport and industrial projects in Cuba, as well as homes, other social projects, and more hotels to help the country earn hard currency.

Internationally, Castro pointed to Cuba's pledge to build 1,000 houses in the city of Bluefields over the next two years. The Cuban government had earlier announced plans to send a brigade of 300 people. Working with local residents, they will construct the sorely needed housing and other buildings as well.

Castro added that Cuba's other internationalist task would be aid to the Soviet Union. On December 12 a Cuban health brigade left Havana for Armenia to help treat earthquake victims.





Militant/Judy White

El Cuá, Nicaragua. Sandinista Workers Federation members came here to set up collective farm as part of program to alleviate social crisis in cities.

# Managua unionists leave city to lead way in rural settlement program

BY JUDY WHITE

EL CUÁ, Nicaragua — Eight months ago Claudio Mendoza Martínez was in charge of the storeroom at Texnica, a state-owned textile plant in Managua. Today he is president of La Chata, a small collective farm in this north-central section of Nicaragua.

"We are scraping by," he said, "but this year we'll be harvesting the same amount of coffee, or a little more, than last year. And with fewer workers."

Mendoza is one of a group of leaders of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) who have left Managua to resettle on collective farms. They are committed to carrying out the CST's campaign to convince unemployed urban workers to move to the countryside and participate in increasing production of export crops, Nicaragua's principal source of foreign exchange.

The CST sees this effort as an essential part of dealing with the problem of unemployment and other aspects of the social crisis in Managua. The city has swollen to about 1 million inhabitants, far beyond the existing capacity to provide basic services such as water, electricity, and public transport. The economic problems facing Nicaragua make it clear there is no short-term solution to this crisis.

"It's better to speak clearly to the compañeros," explained CST President Lucio Jiménez, "and offer them a new battlefield where they can be productive, one that will benefit the worker as well as the whole society."

## CSTers to El Cuá

Twelve CSTers moved to El Cuá last April. They joined the collective farm, began to work cultivating coffee, and cleared land to plant their own food.

At the end of May, Mendoza was made president of La Chata at what he says was the unanimous request of its members — old and new. At the time, according to him, "the farm was not profitable in any sense of the word." Some of the old members had been pilfering the funds, machinery owned by the farm was broken down, and production was very low, he said.

In order to survive until they could get the farm producing, the CSTers decided to open a store.

Taking advantage of their connections to the workers' movement in Managua and

their organizational experience, the CSTers asked for help from the garment industry of Managua. "We got merchandise from them on 30 days' credit," Mendoza explained, "pants, shirts, underwear — items to attract the peasants."

Since the prices they charged were much lower than those charged by other merchants in the nearby town, Mendoza said, the store became a pole of attraction for the area's many small peasants.

Other steps have been taken to strengthen the collective's ties to private farmers in the area. La Chata now processes coffee for many of them in exchange for the rice and beans the collective's members eat.

On a recent Sunday, La Chata provided five volunteers who worked on their day off to help a local small farmer pick his coffee. The farmer will return the favor in the future.

"We also harvest coffee for a woman who has a farm near here," reported Bayardo Castro, another of the CSTers who relocated to the farm last April. "She roasts and grinds coffee for La Chata in return."

## Steps forward at farm

Mendoza pointed to the progress on the farm since the reorganization. "We reactivated the two processing plants, one of which had been out of commission for years, and we got the truck running again. We grew enough corn for all of us and we even made enough earnings from the store to provide some cash income for the members."

Now La Chata is starting to harvest the first coffee crop since the CSTers arrived.

Ninety *brigadistas* from the city have come out to spend from one to three months for the harvest. Most of them are workers from companies that provide ag-

ricultural machinery and other imports to peasants. But there are also workers in construction and transport, members of a Managua neighborhood committee, and a sizable group of students from the telecommunications school of the phone company, who came out to work in the harvest over their Christmas vacation.

Hurricane Joan, which swept across Nicaragua in October, cost La Chata. "We were incommunicado and couldn't buy supplies for the brigadistas when we had planned," Mendoza explained. "By the time we could get them, inflation meant the prices were much higher."

Nonetheless, La Chata's president continued, "we anticipate harvesting enough to pay the bank and the pickers, and have funds left over for the members."

One serious problem of past years has been eliminated. "There are no contras here in the zone," Mendoza said. "We maintain vigilance. Everyone stands watch two hours a night, but we have been able to harvest the crop." El Cuá had been one of the areas most affected by the contra war up until the March 1988 cease-fire.

## Limited numbers involved

The CST project has not yet involved large numbers of workers. Five collective farms have been colonized. According to the union, 500 workers have been involved to date.

Roger Fonseca, a Sandinista leader at the state enterprise that distributes agricultural implements, said, "We still have not managed to get the workers from the city to take up the project of moving to the countryside as their own." Fonseca is at La Chata as part of the harvest brigade. "But," he continued, "this is the only way out of the economic chaos that exists in Nicaragua now."

"Sure, there are only a few hundred so

far," CST President Jiménez told the *Militant*. "But each family that moves has a positive impact on others. They will attract more by their example."

So far, the effort has remained a project of the CST alone. But Jiménez is confident that backing from the government and the Sandinista National Liberation Front will be forthcoming. "But first we have to show it can work," he added.

At La Chata seven of the original 12 CSTers are still there. Of these, three have moved their families to the farm. Along with the nine peasant members who remain with the collective, they are looking to recruit a few more members. "We have a capacity of 20," said Mendoza, "but they have to be hard workers." They are trying to recruit the best of the brigadistas currently working on the harvest.

Francisco Martínez is one of their candidates. Since he was injured during the contra war, he has worked as a salesman of agricultural implements in Managua. After being at La Chata for one month, he was awarded a pair of pants and a shirt for the long hours he had been working. He is considering moving to El Cuá to join the collective.

"We have managed to get under way with the strategy," said Napoleón Villarta, a member of the CST's national organization commission. "What is lacking is to link it to governmental agencies that can provide technical aid to develop the collectives."

Enough time has now elapsed for the farms to begin producing, he pointed out. The CST national leadership is preparing a balance sheet on what has been accomplished.

"We think the government should dedicate the necessary resources to these collective farms, where the CST can guarantee production," Villarta said.

# Hurricane relief efforts continue for Nicaragua

BY HARRY RING

In the December preholiday period, there were continuing efforts around the country to provide urgently needed hurricane relief for Nicaragua.

With union support, Temple University students in Philadelphia held a successful dance to benefit Nicaragua hurricane victims.

More than 100 people attended the December 7 event, which was held at the union hall of District Council 47 of the State, County and Municipal Employees. The union donated the hall and bought a block of 20 tickets. Three bands donated their services.

The affair netted \$1,800 plus a half room full of clothing to be shipped to Nicaragua.

The benefit was organized by the Temple Coalition for Peace and Justice. Initially it planned to hold the affair on campus. But when the administration hassled them on this, the students decided to take advantage of the situation by looking for union support for the project.

They obtained the union hall and sold some tickets to several unions. On campus they set up tables to sell tickets and collect clothing. A collection among Temple faculty members netted \$580.

Students from La Salle College also participated in the event.

Meanwhile, two Philadelphia members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers provided an example of what initiative can accomplish.

Richard Gaeta and Mary Hawks work at Goodlad, where some 500 workers turn out children's clothing.

After a discussion with coworkers, Gaeta talked with the boss about contributing some clothing for the hurricane victims. He agreed to ship 15 boxes of clothing to Nicaragua and also to having a bin set up for workers in the shop to bring clothing contributions.

A collection was also taken among the workers who contributed \$131. The local union then agreed to match that amount.

Also in Philadelphia, Local 1776 of the International Association of Machinists voted to contribute \$100 for hurricane relief and to have the union hall serve as a dropoff point for relief contributions.

In Montclair, New Jersey, the town council voted to declare a Pearl Lagoon Hurricane Relief Weekend.

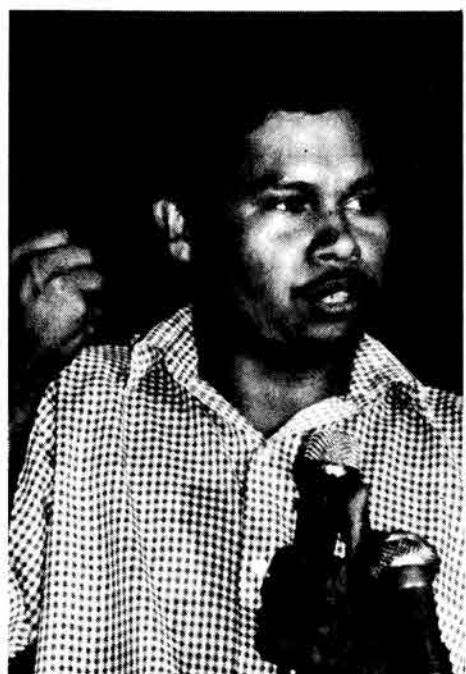
Seventeen Montclair stores agreed to donate a portion of their weekend's proceeds to the project and members of the Montclair/Pearl Lagoon Sister City Project collected contributions from shoppers.

Boston's city council and the board of selectmen in neighboring Brookline adopted resolutions urging support for hurricane relief efforts. In Boston children at the James Hennigan School collected 133 pounds of powdered milk, rice, and beans for Nicaragua.

The Brookline-Quezalque Sister City Project has already paid for a cargo container of relief supplies to Nicaragua and is

now focusing on collecting powdered milk plus cash contributions to help cover shipping costs.

Roger Bland and Richard Gaeta in Philadelphia and Sarah Ullman in Boston contributed to this report.



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Union federation President Lucio Jiménez says those workers who take up farming "will attract more by their example."

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# Discord between U.S. Jews and Israel rulers

## Growing rift reflects wide opposition to repression of Palestinian uprising

BY FRED FELDMAN

"I accept what he has done," declared Morris Abram, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, in the wake of Secretary of State George Shultz' announcement December 14 that the U.S. government would open talks with leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Abram's mild endorsement was symptomatic of a growing public rift with the Israeli government. Both Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, head of the Likud party, and Labor Party leader Shimon Peres had issued statements hinting that U.S. Jewish organizations should lobby for reversal of the U.S. decision.

Others more openly supported the beginning of talks. Michael Lerner, editor of *Tikkun*, a U.S. liberal magazine oriented primarily toward Jewish readers, termed Shultz' action "a very hopeful and positive development."

Lerner called for the Israeli rulers to also begin talks with the PLO. "If Israel turns its back on the olive branch extended by the PLO, it might face a climate five years from now that is less favorable," he said.

*Tikkun* sponsored a December 18-20 conference in New York on "Renewing the Liberal/Progressive Tradition of American Jewish Intellectuals." The 1,500 in attendance cheered as former Israeli foreign minister Abba Eban hailed Washington's reversal of policy on the PLO.

The shift in opinion was not unanimous. The Zionist Organization of America, right-wing columnist Norman Podhoretz, and *N.Y. Times* columnist A.M. Rosenthal were among those who criticized the U.S. government.

### Criticism of Israeli repression

The response to Shultz' announcement was one of the latest expressions of the emerging differences between the Israeli government on the one side, and many leaders of Jewish organizations and other prominent individuals who are Jewish. The rift is a reflection of the widening opposition among the 5.9 million Jews in the United States to the Israeli government's brutal attempts to repress the *intifada*, the uprising that began in December 1987 on the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The shift is deepening the isolation of the Israeli regime. The great majority of people in the United States who are Jewish supported the founding of the State of Israel in 1948, and backed Israel in the wars in which it eventually seized all of Palestine and other areas. The United Jewish Appeal and the Israel Fund collect \$350 million a year for Israel — in addition to the \$3 billion in aid provided directly by the U.S. government.

As the Palestinian movement rose and the tide began to turn against the Israeli conquerors in the years following their victory in the 1967 war, doubts and criticism spread, and open divisions began to appear.



Rita Hauser, chairperson of U.S. chapter of International Center for Peace in the Middle East, with PLO leader Yassir Arafat during December 6 meeting in Stockholm. Delegation of five prominent U.S. Jewish leaders issued joint statement with Arafat's delegation supporting a Palestinian state, alongside Israel.

For a decade, polls have shown that U.S. Jews rejected by two to one the Likud policy of opposing the surrender of any more conquered land. But heavy pressure from both the prominent Jewish organizations and the Israeli government muffled many would-be dissenters.

The rumbles of dissent grew in the wake of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and the massacres of Palestinians, with Israeli military complicity, in Beirut refugee camps. Arthur Hertzberg — former president of the American Jewish Congress — called for the resignation of then Prime Minister Menahem Begin. Phillip Klutznick, former head of B'nai B'rith International, called for Washington to force the Israeli government to withdraw from Lebanon and negotiate with Palestinian leaders.

The Palestinian uprising that began in December 1987, however, has provoked widespread and public criticism of the Israeli regime. Alexander Schindler, head of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, criticized the policy of beating Palestinian protesters, as did the American Jewish Congress.

"It will be increasingly difficult to maintain support for Israel if conditions don't improve," Abram warned Shamir early in 1988.

A poll by the *Los Angeles Times* in April found that two-thirds of Jews in the United States favored a political accommodation with the Palestinians. At that time, one out of three favored talks with the PLO. Some 60 percent supported Secretary of State Shultz' proposal for an international conference on the Middle East. In May a poll of 371 rabbis of the Conservative denomination of Judaism found that 84 percent favored the Israeli government giving up

some of the territory it now holds in exchange for a peace agreement.

### Endorses Palestinian state

The March issue of *Tikkun* called on the Israeli government to propose the creation of a "demilitarized and politically neutral Palestinian state" in the West Bank and Gaza and termed the holding of the West Bank and Gaza Strip "immoral and stupid."

"Americans, particularly American Jews," wrote editor Michael Lerner, "must use every possible means to convey to Israelis . . . that Israel is in deep jeopardy and that the occupation must end."

The rift between a growing body of U.S. Jews and Israeli policy widened further when the Palestine Liberation Organization launched a diplomatic offensive at the mid-November meeting of the Palestine National Council in Algiers.

The campaign centered on the PLO's declaration of a Palestinian state, with its capital in Jerusalem, and agreement to recognize Israel as part of the basis of an international conference. More than 1,000 U.S. Jews signed an advertisement in the De-

cember 12 *Nation* magazine endorsing the new state.

On December 6 five prominent Jewish figures met with a delegation led by PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat in Stockholm, Sweden. The delegations issued a joint statement supporting the establishment of a Palestinian state, alongside Israel.

### Modifying the 'law of return'

The aftermath of the November 1 Israeli parliamentary elections also heightened tensions between Jews in the United States and Tel Aviv government.

In an effort to forge a coalition government with right-wing parties that favor adding to the privileges of the Orthodox denominations, Shamir offered to modify the Israeli "law of return" — which allows Jews anywhere in the world to settle in Israel as citizens.

In contrast, Palestinians in Israeli-held territory are treated as having no irrevocable right to be there and are subjected to deportation for protests. And hundreds of thousands of Palestinians have been expelled since the State of Israel was proclaimed and denied all citizenship rights.

The proposed change in the law would have permitted converts to Judaism to obtain Israeli citizenship only if they are converted by Orthodox — rather than Conservative, Reform, or other rabbis.

While few individuals would be directly affected, many U.S. Jews — only about 10 percent of whom are Orthodox — were outraged. They recognized the move as a challenge to their denominations' legitimacy and right to exist in Israel.

The measure was also embarrassing because it highlighted the fact that freedom of religion even for many Jews is under constant fire in Israel, a "Jewish state" where the right to full citizenship is derived ultimately from Jewish descent or conversion to Judaism.

U.S. Jewish leaders "descended upon the [Israeli] prime minister's office in waves during the past two weeks to warn of dire consequences if Shamir honors his commitment," reported the November 30 *Washington Post*. "This is a watershed in the relationship between American Jews and Israel," said Harry Wall of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League.

Subsequently the proposed coalition with the rightists was dropped and Shamir established a new bloc with the Labor Party. The proposal to change the "law of return" has been set aside for the time being.

## New Zealand worker: 'Action Program sums up situation'

The following letter appeared in the December issue of *Metal*, monthly journal of the New Zealand Amalgamated Engineering and Related Trades Industrial Union of Workers. It was signed by Ian Grant from Tokoroa, New Zealand.

The pamphlet referred to is the *Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*, published by Pathfinder last July. The proposed Action Program is presented by the Socialist Workers Party in the United States. It was widely sold during the SWP's presidential campaign last year and distribution and discussion of it will be the central axis of the party's 1989 municipal election campaigns.

Not for the first time, I find myself in disagreement with statements being made by the leadership of the Trade Unions on the subject of unemployment.

First of all, I disagree with the idea that we have to compete with our fellow-workers in other countries.

I was recently given a pamphlet which was published by the Socialist Workers of the U.S. (of whom I know nothing) and I would like to quote one paragraph from it.

"Those of us who believe we can escape the impending depression by trying to save 'our' jobs at the expense of workers here or abroad will find ourselves out in the street along with hundreds of millions of others.

There is no strategy to negotiate 'job security' for workers in any single plant, industry, union, or country. We can only advance the fight against unemployment by uniting with the victims around the world of the disaster capitalism is preparing."

In my opinion that sums up the situation, but union leaders in this country are talking of "compact" with the employers to "compete" on world markets. It is time our leadership identified and exposed the cause of unemployment — capitalism — and started leading a fight to end that cause.

Union leaders have also been reported as publicly supporting the \$2 billion frigate deal with Australia, on the grounds that it will create jobs. We certainly need jobs, but we certainly do not need frigates.

We have no need to be the number two bully boys of the South Pacific.

The navy needs fast fishery protection vessels, which could be built here, with little modification to existing facilities at Nelson and Whangarei. That would create jobs here, without causing concern or offence to our South Pacific neighbors, and we would end up getting more for our money.

I hope more members will use the columns of their union magazine to express their concerns on these questions; more importantly, I hope they will get along to Branch meetings and make their feelings known, and have some influence on the policies of our union.

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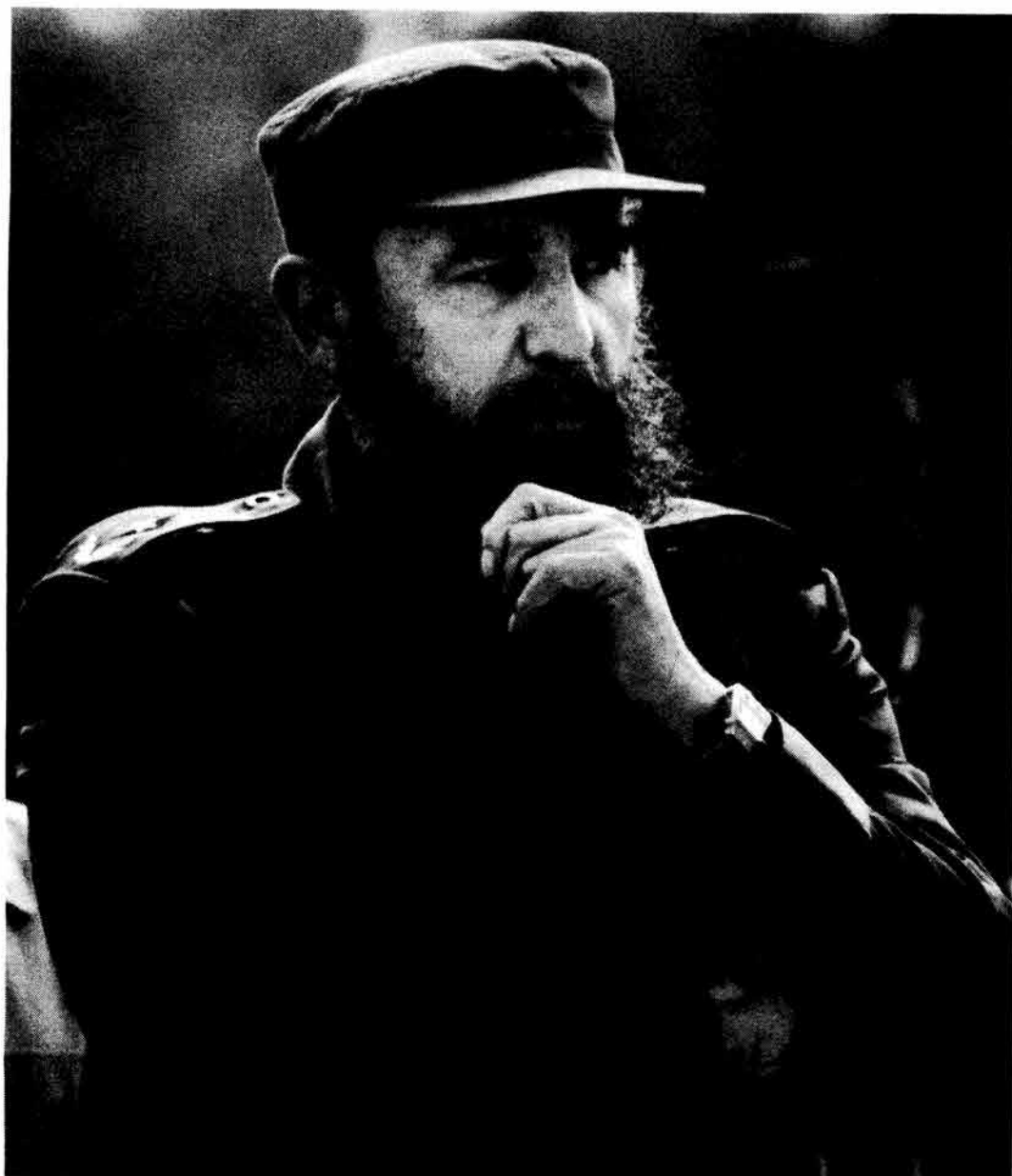
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# International Socialist Review

Supplement to the Militant January 1989



Gianfranco Gorgoni, reprinted by permission of Pathfinder Press

## Fidel Castro: 'As long as the empire exists, we will never be able to lower our guard'

### Introduction

In one of his most important speeches since his October 1987 address on Che Guevara, Cuban President Fidel Castro addressed half a million people in Havana on Dec. 5, 1988.

The Havana gathering commemorated the 32nd anniversary of the founding of Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces on Dec. 2, 1956, when the *Granma* yacht landed on Cuban soil. The yacht bore Castro and 81 other fighters who launched the revolutionary war against the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista. (The celebration was held later this year because Castro was in Mexico from November 30 to December 4, attending the presidential inauguration of Carlos Salinas de Gortari.)

This year's rally also saluted the defense preparations of Havana residents in case of imperialist attack. Present in the crowd were many members of Cuba's armed forces, including civilians in the militias; activists in Cuba's volunteer work brigades; workers; and students.

The speech was presented the day before Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev came to the United States to address the United Nations and meet with U.S. President Ronald Reagan and president-elect George Bush. Following those events, Gorbachev had been scheduled to visit Cuba, but that trip was canceled when he returned to the Soviet Union due to the massive earthquake in Armenia.

At the time Castro gave his speech, negotiations had temporarily broken down between the governments of South Africa, Angola, and Cuba on a political settlement of the armed conflict in Angola and Namibia. On Dec. 22, 1988, a final accord was signed by all three governments.

According to the December 8 daily *Granma*, rallies and marches were held to support Castro's speech in several parts of Cuba following December 5. *Granma* reports that in the city of Santiago tens of thousands of students and workers participated in marches or rallies, "cheering for the party, the revolution, Fidel, and socialism." In Bayamo, a rally of students and others took place. In Guantánamo Province, workers, peasants, students, and housewives participated in a range of meetings, declaring "their decision to fight arms in hand to defend the

independence, freedom, and dignity of the socialist homeland, reaffirming their loyalty to the party and to Fidel," said *Granma*.

Below is the entire text of Castro's speech. The translation is taken from the December 18 issue of *Granma Weekly Review*. The footnotes and subheads are by the *Militant*.

### Fidel Castro

This day has special characteristics. We're not just commemorating (although three days late for the reasons you all know) the 32nd anniversary of our glorious Revolutionary Armed Forces but also the fact that our capital is receiving, together with several state agencies, the Ready for Defense banner in the first stage.

Chance also had it that just 24 hours ago I was present at a rally in the sister republic of Mexico<sup>1</sup> held at the exact spot from where the *Granma* sailed also 32 years ago. [Applause]

Today is not simply a day for solemnities, but I think it is also a day for reflection.

I think that no revolutionary has the slightest doubt of the need for this effort. Why so much sweat, why so much sacrifice, why so many days and endless hours when we deprive ourselves of rest, of study, of healthy leisure in order to boost our defense? I believe this is a point of utmost importance.

We're a small country — an island, what's more — located many thousands of kilometers away from any potential ally or real allies, and 90 miles away from not just the most powerful imperialist power on earth but also the most high-handed, overbearing, arrogant one; or as we have pointed out on other occasions, not 90 miles but just a few millimeters, a few microns away from a piece of

our territory illegally occupied by them.<sup>2</sup>

That empire still is and will continue to be, perhaps for a long time to come, just that, an empire and a powerful one at that.

#### First to free itself from U.S.

We are the first socialist country in the western hemisphere, the first socialist country in Latin America, the last one to free itself from Spain, the first one to free itself from U.S. imperialism, [Applause] the first one to establish full control over its own wealth, the first one to disobey their orders, the first one to challenge them, the first one to carry out the most all-encompassing of revolutions on the basis of new concepts, new ideas, new values.

We've been the first country to raise aloft the banners of the workers, the peasants, the poor and implement their demands and rights; the first country to set the example that corresponded to this stage of historical development of the Latin American peoples. We have upheld those banners and that attitude for nearly 30 years, and the empire will never forgive us for that.

But it isn't just a question of wounding the pride of the empire but also of causing a great injury to its imperial interests — of being a symbol, the road to rebellion, freedom, independence, and the empire will never stop trying to crush that symbol, that example, that road in one way or the other. As long as the imperial domination of our hemisphere exists, that is and will continue to be their goal.

Even if the day comes when relations between socialist Cuba and the empire were to improve formally, that wouldn't stop the empire from trying to crush the Cuban revolution, and they don't hide it; their theoreticians explain it, the defenders of the imperial philosophy explain it. There are some people who say that it's better to make certain changes in the policy toward Cuba in order to penetrate it, weaken it, destroy it — peacefully, if possible. Others think that to the extent that Cuba's belligerence is

Continued on next page

1. On the final day of his visit to Mexico, Castro visited the town of Tuxpán. This was the site where in 1956 he and 81 other fighters had embarked for Cuba aboard the yacht *Granma*.

2. During the U.S. occupation of Cuba at the beginning of this century, Washington established a naval base at Guantánamo, which remains to this day over the protests of the Cuban people.



## Continued from previous page

emphasized, Cuba will be more active and effective in its struggles on the Latin American and world scene.

Therefore, there's something that must be the essence of the Cuban revolutionary thought, there's something that must be absolutely clear in the consciousness of our people, who have had the privilege of being the first to travel these roads, and it is the awareness that as long as the empire exists we will never be able to lower our guard, to neglect our defense. [Applause]

I say this because perhaps some people may wonder if it wouldn't be better to use all that energy, all that effort and those resources in building socialism. And I would answer — anybody would answer — that it would indeed be better to be able to use that money, that energy and those resources to develop the country — but to do so

**“It isn't that we're against peace, détente, or peaceful coexistence; it's that realism tells us that as long as the empire exists, our homeland will be in danger . . .”**

would be an illusion, a grave illusion, a criminal illusion, because that's the price our people must pay for their revolution, their independence, their most sacred rights; that's the price that throughout history many peoples have had to pay for their right to exist and, in our case, not just to exist but to do it for something and by something.

We can't ignore reality and I don't think our people would ever forgive themselves, nor could they avoid paying an extremely high and fatal price, if some day we ignored that reality. It isn't that we're pessimists, we're simply realists; it isn't that we're against peaceful coexistence between different political and socioeconomic systems. It's that we're being and we must be simply realistic, and realism tells us that as long as the empire exists and as long as a dignified people continue to live on this island, a revolutionary people on this island, our homeland will be in danger, unless one day we debase ourselves so much or behave in such an unworthy manner so as to give up our independence, our freedom, our most sacred and lofty rights. [Applause and shouts of “No!” and “Fidel, Fidel!” and “Fidel, for sure, hit the Yankees hard!”]

We view with satisfaction and sincerely support the peace policy of the Soviet Union and, as you know, in the statements we've made over the past few years peace, détente, and disarmament are to us inseparably linked to the possibility of development for a large portion of humanity, of overcoming the great economic crisis that now afflicts these peoples in the world, which means billions of human beings in the world; of the coming into existence of a New International Economic Order; and of guaranteeing a fairer future for all these peoples.

## Two types of survival

The question of the survival of humanity is a problem that concerns all of us; peace is a problem that concerns all of us. But even survival and peace have different meanings for different countries — there are two types of survival and two types of peace: survival for the rich and survival for the poor, peace for the rich and peace for the poor.

In the affluent world there's hardly any infant mortality. In the affluent world there's hardly any malnutrition. In the affluent world hardly any human beings die from diseases that today's technology, science and preventive measures can avoid. In the affluent world there's hardly any illiteracy or the type of illiteracy that afflicts all other peoples. In the affluent world there are hardly any shanty towns. In the affluent world life expectancy is 70 years or over.

In the affluent world they even occasionally destroy food products that are needed by billions of people in the world simply to sell what's left at higher prices, to boost prices. In the affluent world subsidies are granted not just so that their agricultural products can compete with those of the Third World countries, but also subsidies for their unemployed, something intrinsic to capitalist societies, and there are many unemployed. And naturally, when peace is discussed, we can't help thinking about the people dying every day in that Third World I'm talking about.

Thus, history, books and political proclamations mention World War I and World War II, the number of people killed and the victims. I recall that concerning World War I people used to say that close to 20 million people died in it; and that close to 40 million died in World War II. The Hiroshima and Nagasaki A-bombs are mentioned in books and even now humanity is terrified to think that in just one day 120,000 people died, in just one day or after, and that hundreds of thousands suffered the consequences of fallout following that brutal experiment that

the Yankees carried out over the Japanese cities.

And so, as we have said on other occasions, every day 40,000 children die in the Third World that could be saved; every three days — and these are statistics given by the UN agencies — 120,000 children die in the Third World that could be saved. Every three days as many children under five die as the number of people killed by one of the bombs dropped on Hiroshima or Nagasaki, just children under five! And those who die later on or experience the horrible consequences of malnutrition and hunger — which not only shorten life but impair the mental and physical development of millions and millions of people — are the consequence of something worse than the Hiroshima and Nagasaki fallout.

And I'm talking just about children, but if we include the grownups in those countries where life expectancy is half of that in the affluent countries, as many people or more people than those killed in World War I die every year.

Something more that could be said here is that as many human beings as those killed in World War II die every year in the Third World as a consequence of the colonial plunder of our countries, as a consequence of neocolonialism, as a consequence of unequal terms of trade, as a consequence of poverty, as a consequence of the existence of unjust relations in the world, as a consequence of the imperialist policy.

That's why I say there are two types of survival and two types of peace and that as long as injustice prevails in the world, as long as neocolonialist and imperialist oppression exists in the world, as long as plundering exists, there'll be two types of survival and two types of peace, as well as two conceptions of survival and peace: socialist conceptions and imperialist conceptions.

## Imperialism's military domination

We all know how socialism conceives of peace, but we also know how imperialism can conceive of peace. Imperialism developed its armed forces for world domination; it has military bases in every corner of the earth, powerful naval and air fleets, millions of soldiers. Imperialism's military conception was designed to impose its order on the world, to impose its peace, like the one called Pax Romana in ancient times; its military conception was designed to keep the world under its domination. This is a reality and we know how to be realistic.

There are no socialist naval or air fleets in the world, nor military bases; there never existed a socialist conception of world domination. That's why the news that there might be peace, that there might be reductions of nuclear weapons, that there might be détente between the United States and the USSR doesn't necessarily mean that there will be peace for us, security for us, or for other revolutionary peoples, or simply for the independent countries of the Third World.

For how does the imperialist government of the United States interpret peace, how does the empire interpret peace? It's quite possible, it's almost certain that the way that the empire conceives peace is peace among the powerful, peace with the Soviet Union and war with the small socialist, revolutionary, progressive countries or simply independent countries of the Third World; peace with the powerful countries and open or covert wars, dirty wars like in Nicaragua, or genocidal wars like in El Salvador, or low-intensity conflicts — as they call them — with other countries.

That's why it's so important to ask ourselves what does the empire mean by détente and what does the empire mean by peace — we can't harbor any kind of illusions. That's why I said and say now that our people will never be able to lower their guard. [Applause]

And the question of our defense — it's very important that we realize this! — was never in anyone's hands but our own. [Applause] We were never defended by nuclear missiles — we have nothing to gain or lose in this connection by some missiles of one type or another being dismantled or even if there is universal nuclear disarmament, something which unfortunately does not appear to be so close at hand, given that our defense never depended on short-, intermediate- or long-range missiles.

We once had here on our territory intermediate-range missiles and they were withdrawn from our country long ago.<sup>3</sup> It's been a long time that we haven't had any type of defense missiles, but if all the missiles were to disappear one day we would be happy for the countries being threatened by those missiles, we would be happy for humanity that lives or survives, for humanity that lives in peace or some other very relative conception of peace, without any of this, however, lessening in the slightest the dangers posed for our homeland in the military field.

3. In 1962, Cuba acquired missiles from the Soviet Union to defend itself from U.S. attack. In October of that year, Washington initiated the “Cuban missile crisis” (or October crisis) by ordering a total blockade of Cuba, threatening an immediate invasion of the island, and placing U.S. forces throughout the world on nuclear alert. The crisis abated following an agreement between the U.S. and Soviet governments to withdraw the missiles in exchange for a commitment by Washington not to invade Cuba.

The empire will continue to have powerful naval and air fleets, powerful armies in many parts of the world because so far not a word has been said about the empire reducing its naval or air fleets, its military bases, its armies in the world; and they will continue to threaten the small countries, the Third World countries with or without nuclear weapons. However, that doesn't discourage us, it doesn't discourage us because we know that there are solutions to these dangers; we know that even the small peoples are capable of struggling against that powerful empire, and the most recent example, the most unforgettable one, was the example of Vietnam. [Applause]

Let's say the clearest example. But contemporary history has shown that no matter how powerful a country, no matter how sophisticated its weapons, it is incapable of dominating, it is incapable of crushing a people ready to struggle.

## El Salvador, Nicaragua, Grenada

On a smaller scale, for example, we have the Salvadoran people, who for eight years have been resisting a torrent of resources, weapons, imperial training, in the genocidal war being carried out in that country. In El Salvador, in Nicaragua, everywhere, there is an undeniable truth: the peoples who are determined to fight are invincible, invincible! [Applause] And even Grenada, as tiny as it is and with a small population — if the revolutionary process there hadn't committed suicide, even Grenada would have struggled and been invincible. [Applause] Sooner or later, the imperialists would have had to withdraw; even there, in a 400-square-kilometer country with a little over 100,000 inhabitants.

And our people also learned to defend themselves; they learned a long time ago and defended themselves without hesitation. They defended themselves against imperialism's dirty war; they defended themselves against the mercenary invasion at Playa Girón,<sup>4</sup> and even then there were hundreds of thousands of men and women who were ready to defend their country; they defended themselves heroically during the October Crisis, and when the intermediate-range missiles were withdrawn, our people continued to defend themselves; they continued to apply the principle that the defense of our country is in the hands of our own people. [Shouts and applause]

Absolutely no one was discouraged here; no one here was demoralized even for a minute; no one gave up here, like one of you just said; and our people assumed their task just as they have assumed it throughout the last 30 years. [Applause and shouts of “Those who have been born and those who are yet to be should know that we were born to win and not to be defeated!”]

And when a warmongering and aggressive administration was threatening to wipe us off the map, we carried our conceptions of defending the revolution and the country to their highest expression. Our people and our

**“Every day, 40,000 children die in the Third World who could be saved. Every 3 days, as many children under 5 die as the number of people killed by one of the bombs dropped on Hiroshima or Nagasaki . . .”**

armed forces, abiding by the principles that led us to victory in the Sierra Maestra Mountains,<sup>5</sup> in the struggle against the imperialist dirty war in the Escambray Mountains<sup>6</sup> and other regions of the country, in the battle against the mercenary attack on Girón, in the face of new dangers, drew up and applied the idea of the war of all the people. [Applause]

It is this conception that makes us unconquerable, that makes us invincible, that makes us act out of profound conviction — a conviction based on reality, experience and past history — that no matter how powerful the empire may be, no matter how sophisticated its weapons, it will never be able to overcome us, to bring us to our knees, to conquer us. Even if our country should be overrun, it would never be conquered, the people would never stop fighting and they would never cease to win! [Applause]

The war of all the people means that to conquer our ter-

4. In April 1961, 1,500 Cuban-born mercenaries organized by the U.S. government invaded Cuba at the Bay of Pigs. After 72 hours, the last invaders surrendered at Playa Girón (Girón Beach), which is the name Cubans use for the battle.

5. The Sierra Maestra in eastern Cuba was the base from which the Rebel Army led the battle against Batista in 1956–58.

6. For several years in the early 1960s, the CIA organized armed counterrevolutionary bands in the Escambray mountains in central Cuba and elsewhere. Through a determined campaign by Cuba's regular armed forces and peasant-based militias, these bands were eliminated by the mid-1960s.





Militant/Steven Fuchs

"The Salvadoran people have been resisting a genocidal war," says Castro. Above, Rigoberto Orellano, leader of Movement for Bread, Land, Work, and Liberty, assassinated in El Salvador in July 1988.

ritory and occupy our soil, the imperial forces would have to fight against millions of people and would have to pay with hundreds of thousands, even millions of lives for trying to conquer our land, for trying to crush our freedom, our independence and our revolution, without ever succeeding in doing so.

And this truth is not only valid today; other people in other times in the history of our country perceived this truth. It is not by accident that Maceo,<sup>7</sup> writing in other times, in another era when there weren't 10 million of us, when we were perhaps a tenth of what we are today, when we had a tenth of the discipline we have today and a hundredth of the weapons we have today, said: "Whoever tries to conquer Cuba will gain nothing but the dust of her blood-soaked soil — if he doesn't perish in the struggle first!" [Applause and shouts]

We can complement this marvelous idea, Maceo's extraordinary thought, by saying that whoever tries to conquer Cuba will not even gain the dust of her blood-soaked soil, for he will perish in the struggle! [Applause]

No matter how powerful the empire, no matter how sophisticated its technique and weapons, it is not in a position to pay the price of an adventure of this kind. Perhaps it will never be willing to pay it, but we know that no matter how high the price of the sacred principle of defending our country and our revolution, we will always be willing to pay it! [Applause]

This is what the idea of the war of all the people means. This is what the principle that our people can never make the mistake of lowering our guard means; it follows that it is necessary to continue investing sweat and resources and making sacrifices to strengthen our defense.

#### Not playing at war

Without defense there can be no homeland, without defense there can be no independence, without defense there can be no freedom, without defense there can be no dignity, without defense there can be no revolution. Defense is something that can never be left in someone else's hands, defense is something a people must only entrust to themselves. [Applause]

That's what we have done for nearly 30 years of revolution and that's why today's ceremony is so special, this moment when the fighters in our capital, men and women who will have to take up their weapons or keep produc-

tion and the services going in the event of war, are receiving their Ready for Defense banner in the first stage. [Prolonged applause]

This isn't playing at war, these aren't mere ceremonies. There are very serious, very sacred things behind this effort and the empire cannot fail to understand it. That's why we must never neglect our defense for a single day, for a single minute, whatever it may cost, whatever the sacrifice. What our people are capable of, what the ideas of independence and freedom are capable of, what the idea of the revolution is capable of can be seen in the history of our country. I believe that very few have written such eloquent pages on fighting spirit and heroism in such a short period of time.

In its time, the Spanish empire, powerful Spain, failed to recognize or ignored our people's strength. What was Cuba's population in 1868? I don't have the exact information with me, but I don't think there were more than a million inhabitants, and that war that started in Yara on October 10 lasted 10 years and was waged with indescribable heroism.<sup>8</sup>

It wasn't all the people fighting against Spain, it was part of the people. At the time ours was still a slave society; hundreds of thousands of men — men and women but mainly men — were enslaved. They made the sugarcane and coffee plantations produce, mainly in the western part of the country. It is estimated that there were about 300,000 slaves.

A handful of patriots, of independent peasants and slaves started that war, but in the first 10 years the war never reached the west, the western population didn't take part in the struggle and the slaves couldn't be freed. Spain not only had hundreds of thousands of soldiers, but also had the volunteers, who were Spanish citizens living in Cuba, and it unfortunately had part of the Cuban population fighting on its side.

I sincerely believe that one of the most heroic struggles for independence was the one our small population waged against a power that at the time was strong, militarily very strong. The rest of the peoples of Latin America fought at the same time against Spain on an immense territory to liberate themselves. On our small island part of our people struggled alone against that foreign power.

8. Cuba's first war for independence from Spain, launched Oct. 10, 1868, in the town of Yara, lasted until 1878. Slavery was abolished in Cuba in 1886. Spanish colonial rule was finally defeated in the war of 1895-98.

It's good to remember this on a day like today because the seed of our present dignity, our present rebelliousness, our present patriotism was planted then, in the struggle of Céspedes, Agramonte, Máximo Gómez, Maceo, that later became the struggle of Martí and of some of these same patriots who were still alive and of many other leaders and fighters.<sup>9</sup>

Nearly 30 years later, when the colonial power had been defeated, as we all know, the liberation struggle was interrupted by U.S. intervention; intervention accompanied by deceit, accompanied by hidden motives, accompanied by lies, that was presented as intervention to free our country. It was an intervention that served to take over Puerto Rico — which is still under the imperial yoke — and to take over other territories; it served to impose the Platt Amendment<sup>10</sup> on us and gave them the right to intervene in our country whenever they saw fit; it served to set up a naval base in one of the best bays of the country, where it still stands, and to impose neocolonialism on our homeland.

But our people didn't stop struggling against such complex factors in which lies and deceit played no small role. Our workers struggled, our peasants struggled against all the injustice that U.S. intervention brought upon us, that neocolonialism brought upon us, that the policy of manipulating our state brought upon us; the policy of taking over our natural resources, of establishing huge latifundia, of taking our mines, our transportation means and our services in usufruct, and of exploiting our country; the policy of contempt for our people.

They even thought they had indoctrinated us enough. They thought we had no choice but to think the way they did, to do whatever they thought we should do. If anti-socialism was in fashion, we had to be antisocialist; if an-

“  
The way the empire conceives of peace is peace among the powerful, peace with the Soviet Union, and war with the small socialist, revolutionary, or simply independent countries of the Third World . . .

”

ticommunism was in fashion, we had to be more anti-communist than anyone else; if racism was in fashion, we had to be racist; if women's discrimination was in fashion, we had to discriminate against women; if gambling was in fashion, we had to be tops in gambling; if prostitution was in fashion, there had to be more prostitutes in our country than anywhere else; if corruption and plundering the state's finances were in fashion, there had to be more plunder in Cuba than anywhere else; if capitalism, latifundism and petty politics were the fashion, we had to be the biggest capitalists, latifundists, and hack politicians of all.

How they insulted this country! How they underestimated it, how they scorned it, and how far they were from imagining that this country and this people, despite all that indoctrination, despite all that apparent docility and submission, would be capable of doing what they did, would be capable of carrying out a revolution, of keeping their flag held high for three decades, of developing the forces they developed! How could they think that that mercenary army was enough to control our country? How could they be so contemptuous of the heroism and intelligence of our nation? How were they incapable of seeing all the audacity that the soul of our people harbored?

That's why on an occasion like this we must remember our most recent history, we must remember the infinitesimal resources with which we began the struggle in this new stage of our history, the infinitesimal resources with which the attack on the Moncada Garrison<sup>11</sup> was organized, the infinitesimal resources with which the *Granma* expedition was organized, the insignificant number of men with whom the new Liberation Army was

Continued on next page

9. Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, Ignacio Agramonte, Máximo Gómez, and Antonio Maceo were leaders of Cuba's 1868-78 independence war. José Martí, considered the country's national hero, renewed the battle for independence in 1895, in which Gómez and Maceo were among the central leaders.

10. The Platt Amendment of 1901 was imposed by the U.S. Congress on the constitution of Cuba during the U.S. military occupation of that island. It granted Washington the right to intervene in Cuban affairs at any time.

11. On July 26, 1953, Castro and more than 100 fighters attacked the Moncada army barracks in Santiago de Cuba, launching the revolutionary struggle against the Batista regime. The assault failed, and many of the revolutionaries were captured, tortured, and murdered. Castro himself was arrested and imprisoned.

7. Antonio Maceo was a prominent leader of Cuba's battle for independence from Spain in the late 19th century.



## Continued from previous page

founded and with whom the 25-month-long struggle from the Sierra Maestra was carried out.

A few days ago we commemorated the 30th anniversary of one of the most important battles among the many that took place in those months, and the number of men with a minimum quantity of weapons and ammunition, with whom it was possible to carry out military actions seems incredible, like something imaginary or fantastic.

The truth is that our small army, whose founding is being commemorated today, was able to destroy an army of 80,000 men, and when the war ended the total number of weapons our Rebel Army possessed was not more than 3,000.

This is a great lesson, a great lesson worthy of being kept in mind now that there are millions of us and we have millions of weapons, when we have tens upon tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of military cadres of different kinds, with solid training; when we have weapons which are incomparably more powerful, modern and effective.

Therefore, it was logical that on this road we have traveled, there is nothing extraordinary about what our people did to defend themselves, the way in which they crushed the dirty war, in which they destroyed the mercenary invasion, in which they defied the empire by proclaiming socialism on the very eve of the mercenary landing;<sup>12</sup> the way in which they have resisted and have confronted all risks. And especially on a day like this we must pay honor to the heroism, determination and efficiency with which our people have fulfilled their sacred internationalist missions. [Applause]

When hundreds of thousands of men and women organized for defense are gathered here in the square, we can't forget a fact that is really extraordinary, a symbol of what our people are, of the degree of awareness reached, and that is the presence of tens upon tens of thousands of internationalist fighters who are thousands upon thousands of kilometers from our soil. [Applause] I think it is a good measure of the development of our people's defensive capacity, I think it is a good measure of our people's spirit, courage and heroism.

It is a really extraordinary fact that when we were threatened here, when the empire spoke of crushing us, when the empire obliged us to make an exceptional effort in defense, our country — which would have had well-founded reasons to suspend its internationalist missions and recall its forces in view of the threat we faced — never refrained from fulfilling its international duties. We were so confident of our people and their capacity to struggle that not even for our defense here did we withdraw a single internationalist fighter from anywhere. [Applause] And not only that. We were able to deal with difficult situations, situations we could call critical, while fulfilling these missions.

## Angola: one of bravest pages

We haven't said enough yet, and perhaps this still isn't the time to say everything that could be said, but I think that in the last 12 months, in the last year, our country has written one of the bravest and most extraordinary pages of internationalist spirit.

It all started less than 13 months ago when the crisis developed in the People's Republic of Angola. It was a really difficult time, a particularly difficult situation for different reasons. We had been fulfilling our internationalist mission in that sister nation for about 12 years; we were true to our commitments during those years in which we maintained our presence in Angola, not to participate in the internal strife, since each country must solve its own internal problems. Our presence was to serve as a shield against the South African threat, which is what originated our presence in Angola in 1975, at the request of the leadership in that country.

On one occasion we had already driven the South Africans back to the border; that was in 1976.

That year we had accumulated a large number of troops that we subsequently started to withdraw. When about half the forces we had accumulated in 1976 had been withdrawn, the intervention of racist and fascist South Africa started in Angola again.

In the southern part of the country we defended a strategic line established in keeping with the topography of the terrain and the communications required for defense. This line went from the sea due east; first it was about 300 kilometers long and then about 700 — we would have to determine the exact figure — but we went from Namibe to Menongue, in the interior of the country to the east. We were about 250 kilometers from the border with Namibia, and the South Africans operated without ever reaching our lines; they operated in the area between our lines and the border.

Their main actions involved waging the dirty war against Angola, arming counterrevolutionary groups in association with the United States.

This situation lasted for years, but during all that time the balance of power favored the South Africans. Our

forces were large enough to defend that line but not to prevent South African incursions in part of Angola. As I said, that situation lasted for years until 1987, when the crisis I mentioned came about.

The crisis stemmed from an offensive organized by the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA) against UNITA<sup>13</sup> in southeast Angola, very far from the eastern end of our lines. The Cubans were never involved in that offensive. This wasn't the first, there had been another offensive in 1985 from a point now known as Cuito Cuanavale.

Cuito Cuanavale was 200 kilometers east of the last point on the Cuban line, 200 kilometers from Menongue. It was where the 1985 FAPLA offensive began against UNITA to the southeast. When they had advanced about 150 kilometers in that remote region, the intervention of South African forces came about, very far from our lines, 350 kilometers from the last point in our lines, and forced the FAPLA to fall back.

To tell the truth, we had our views about those operations, and one of our viewpoints was that the offensives couldn't be undertaken without making allowances for South African intervention. We had very clear, very precise, and very categorical views on the issue.

There were no such offensives in 1986.

Our view was that if the aim was to undertake offensives in that direction inside Angola — which is an undeniable right of the Angolan government — the appropriate conditions had to be brought about so that South Africa wouldn't be able to intervene. The appropriate conditions had to be brought about to prevent South African intervention! We told those who advised such operations that they couldn't be carried out as long as the conditions for preventing South African intervention weren't brought about.

Our views were heeded in 1986, but unfortunately they were not heeded enough in 1987 and events unfolded just as we expected. At a given moment in those remote areas of eastern Angola, when the FAPLA offensive was successfully under way against UNITA, the South Africans again intervened with artillery, tanks, planes and troops.

But in 1987 they didn't limit themselves to intervening to stop the FAPLA. This intervention occurred in 1987 — as had happened in 1985 — north of Mavinga. Mavinga is so far away that not even our fighter planes based in Menongue could reach it. As I was saying, this time the South Africans didn't limit themselves to repelling the offensive. They advanced toward Cuito Cuanavale in pursuit of the FAPLA and tried to destroy the largest and best group of Angolan troops. Cuito Cuanavale, as I said, is 200 kilometers east of Menongue, the eastern end of our lines. There the South Africans tried to decide the war against Angola in their and UNITA's favor.

Of course that faraway spot was not the ideal place for large battles since logistics and supplies were very difficult. To get from Menongue to Cuito Cuanavale, you had to cover 200 kilometers through the jungle; in other words, the enemy had selected the terrain that best suited him.

When that situation was created, a situation that in truth developed because our military views were not taken into account, a difficult situation that could prove to be decisive, then everybody asked us to act and try to avoid a disaster there. Everybody asked us to act and expected Cuba to solve the problem.

But actually, as we saw it, the Cuban forces and the equipment in Angola weren't enough to solve the problem. We didn't have enough men and equipment to defend a line that was more than 700 kilometers long and what's more advance 200 kilometers eastward through the jungle to deal with the problem. We ran the risk of becoming strong there and weak elsewhere, the risk of falling into a giant trap.

Therefore, we grasped the problem from the start and concluded that, while it could be solved, it was indispensable to reinforce the troops and apply an appropriate military conception. The principle was that you shouldn't undertake decisive battles on terrain picked by the enemy, you must wage decisive battles when you choose the terrain and strike the enemy in sensitive and genuinely strategic spots.

The crisis situation developed in mid-November. I had just returned from the Soviet Union where I had attended the 70th anniversary festivities. A few days after I got back, the news from Angola started coming in: the situation had become very critical, the South Africans were on the outskirts of Cuito Cuanavale, the threat was serious and there wasn't a minute to lose.

It was on Nov. 15, 1987, when we met with the General Staff of our Revolutionary Armed Forces, that we made the political and military decision to deal with the situation and take the necessary measures. To have done otherwise would probably have resulted in the annihilation of the best group of Angolan troops, with unpredictable consequences for the survival of the People's Republic of Angola and a complicated situation for our



Angolan victims of South African—, U.S.-sponsored war to defend an African country is Cuba," points out Castro

forces. Therefore, after careful thought, our party leadership decided to reinforce the troops and help solve the serious problem.

But it wasn't so simple, it wasn't all so simple. There was a complex political situation. Comrade Gorbachev was to meet with President Reagan in Washington on December 7 to discuss important issues related to world peace.<sup>14</sup> The Cuban action could be considered inappropriate. It was the worst possible time for a decision of this kind. The question was, either we make the decision or face the consequences of letting the South Africans operate with impunity and decide the struggle in Angola militarily.

In all truth, the leadership of our party and the leadership of our Revolutionary Armed Forces never hesitated for a moment. The right decision was made on Nov. 15, 1987, to be exact. The first thing we did was to send the most experienced pilots in our air force to Angola to start air action from the base at Menongue against the South African forces besieging Cuito Cuanavale. Meanwhile we selected and began to send from Cuba the combat units and necessary weapons to meet the situation and foil the enemy plans.

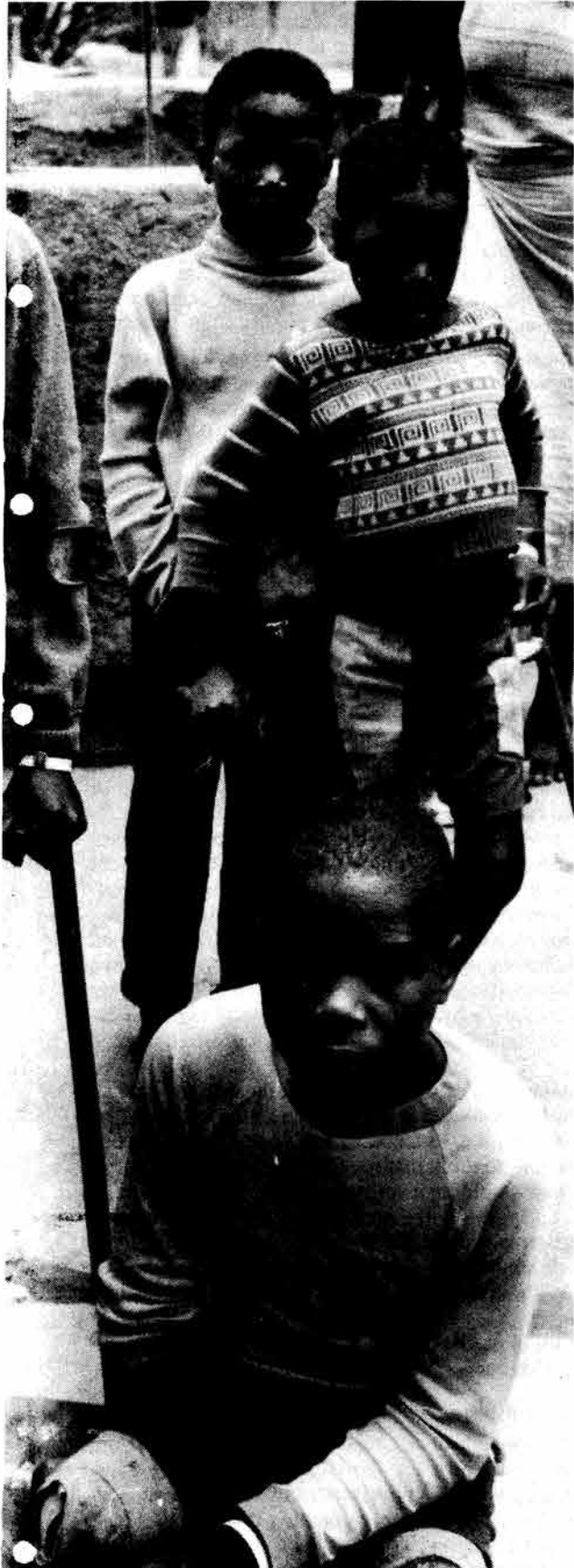
The air force had a certain effect, but it wasn't enough. We had to fly in a group of advisers, officers, and cadres to Cuito Cuanavale, plus artillerymen, tank crews, and operators of arms and matériel. About 200 in all were sent in to provide support, chiefly in technical terms and advice for the Angolans. But that wasn't enough, and by land we had to send tank, artillery, and armored infantry

12. On April 16, 1961, on the eve of the Bay of Pigs invasion, Castro delivered a speech proclaiming the socialist character of the Cuban revolution.

13. Backed and supplied by the U.S. and South African governments, mercenaries of UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) has been carrying out a terrorist war against the Angolan government and people.

14. Mikhail Gorbachev arrived in the United States Dec. 7, 1987, for a summit meeting with President Ronald Reagan. Gorbachev and Reagan signed a treaty to reduce intermediate-range nuclear forces.





Militant/Sam Manuel

**"The only non-African country whose troops were sent. Some 300,000 Cuban volunteers have served in Angola.**

enough forces and matériel to the west of our lines to advance southward and threaten key positions of the South African forces.

The main idea was to stop them at Cuito Cuanavale and attack them from the southwest. Enough troops were gathered together to seriously threaten places of strategic importance for South Africa and strike hard at them on terrain that we, not the enemy, had chosen. [Applause]

#### Balance of power changed

Our troops advanced southward from the west, with enough men and matériel to fulfill their mission. Only a few clashes with the scouting groups and powerful air strikes at their positions in Calueque were enough for the South Africans to realize the tremendous force they were up against, and this change in the balance of power was what paved the way to negotiations; no one should think that they came about by chance.

The United States had been meeting with Angola for some time, serving as mediators between the Angolans and the South Africans, to look for a peaceful solution and so the years went by. But while these supposed negotiations were taking place with the United States as the intermediary, the South Africans had intervened and tried to solve the Angolan situation militarily, and perhaps they would have achieved it if it hadn't been for the effort our country made.

The fact is that the balance of power changed radically. The South Africans had suffered a crushing defeat in Cuito Cuanavale and the worst part for them was still to come. The truth is that they started to play with fire and they got fire in return. [Applause]

Perhaps never in these entire 12 years had they faced so much danger. When we reached the border of Namibia in 1976 we had men, we had a good number of tanks and cannons, but we had no air force or anti-aircraft missiles and we lacked much of the equipment we have today.

I must say that our pilots were covered with glory in the battle of Cuito Cuanavale and wrote extraordinary pages in history. [Applause] A handful of pilots went on hundreds upon hundreds of missions in only a few weeks. They had control of the air with the MIG-23s and we must say that they carried out a great feat, and that was an important factor.

We not only sent our best pilots to Angola, we also sent our best anti-aircraft weapons, a large amount of portable anti-aircraft matériel, a good quantity of anti-aircraft missile artillery. We reinforced our air power and we sent as many tanks, armored troop carriers, and artillery pieces as were needed.

I mentioned the pilots, but it would also be fair to mention our tank crews' behavior, our artillerymen's behavior, that of our anti-aircraft defense personnel, our infantry, our scouts, our sappers. [Applause] They organized and helped set up impassable mine fields where the South African tanks blew up in Cuito Cuanavale. [Applause] Success was the result of the coordinated action of the different troops there, in close cooperation with the Angolan troops who acted with extraordinary heroism and great efficiency in the common effort that was made there.

The Angolan 25th Infantry Brigade was especially outstanding in the battles that were waged east of the river. It was a common struggle, with common merit and common glory. [Applause]

In Cuito Cuanavale the greater part of the troops were Angolan; and in our southward advance, which we also undertook in common, the greater part of the troops were Cuban. [Applause]

A truly powerful force was brought together. Air, anti-aircraft, and land superiority was ours. We took great care in providing air cover for our troops and so, even when the South African planes vanished from the sky after receiving a few good lessons from our anti-aircraft weapons, the troops always advanced and always took up their positions with a maximum of air cover — our anti-aircraft weapons were and still are on maximum alert to prevent surprise attacks. We had thoroughly analyzed the experiences in the last wars and we didn't give the enemy a single opportunity, not a single opportunity! [Applause]

This was not just because of the measures we took on land — fortifying the field, the anti-aircraft weapons, the planes — but we also performed construction feats: in a matter of weeks an airport for our fighters, an air base, was built that enabled our planes to advance more than 200 kilometers and seriously threaten key spots of the South African troops. There was no improvisation, adventure, carelessness on our part. The enemy realized not just that they were up against very powerful forces but also highly experienced ones.

In this way the conditions were created that made possible the negotiations that have continued and have even made progress over the past few months; a radical change in the political, diplomatic, and military situation.

#### United States as 'mediator'

In these negotiations the United States has acted as mediator. You can say "mediator" with quote marks, but this doesn't deprive its diplomatic action in these negotiations of a certain positive aspect. I say "mediator" in quotes because they are the allies of UNITA and provide

weapons to UNITA. By doing that they act as the allies of South Africa, but at the same time they're interested in finding a solution to the Namibian problem, finding some peace formula for the region as a consequence of which the Cuban troops are withdrawn from Angola.

It is known that the United States had some sleepless times over the kind of boldness shown by a blockaded and threatened small country like Cuba, capable of carrying out an internationalist mission of this nature. The empire can't conceive of this. They are the only ones in the world who are entitled to have troops everywhere, weapons everywhere, bases everywhere, and yet the fact that a small Caribbean country was capable of providing support to a sister African nation is something beyond their parameters, concepts, and norms.

It's clear that this internationalist mission carried out by Cuba made a very big impact on Africa. The African peoples and even African governments that are not revolutionary but belong rather to the right, have viewed with admiration the mission carried out by Cuba in Africa. The African peoples know these are troops allied with them, they know that the only non-African country whose troops were sent to defend an African country against racist and fascist South African aggression is Cuba. [Applause]

All of Africa profoundly hates apartheid. All of Africa views apartheid as their greatest enemy, an enemy that despises Africa, attacks Africa, humiliates Africa. It's incredible up to what point the African peoples suffer with apartheid, and this has turned African feelings, the African soul, into an ally of Cuba.

The imperialists can't understand too well the reason for Cuba's broad relations on the international scene, Cuba's prestige on the international scene. But the African peoples, who have been humiliated by apartheid and racism, have been able to appraise in all its merit the noble, generous gesture, the historical dimension, the heroism of our people who were capable not only of defending themselves here from such a powerful enemy but also help the Africans in their struggle against the fascists and racists.

#### Anti-apartheid sentiment in U.S.

We know what the African peoples think — and this is another problem hanging over U.S. policy. The African peoples have viewed the United States as an ally and a friend of apartheid and see it as mainly to blame for the survival of apartheid. And South Africa has become an embarrassing friend for the United States. Apartheid has become something that is politically negative for the United States standing before world public opinion, something that stinks in U.S. policy, something that even causes it domestic problems, because there are sectors in the United States — the Black population in the United States, and not just the Black population but the minorities discriminated against in the United States, and not just national minorities but also a large portion of U.S. public opinion, that condemns apartheid, repudiates apartheid, criticizes apartheid.

And so apartheid and its alliance with the U.S. government are becoming an internal political problem, hence the U.S. interest in steering clear of it, of making people stop thinking it is associated with or an ally of apartheid.

Similarly the problem of Namibia, occupied by South Africa, is a problem that concerns world public opinion in its entirety. It concerns the United Nations. Long ago the United Nations ordered the South Africans to leave Namibia and many years ago the UN adopted Resolution 435 on Namibia's independence.

Thus the United States could kill three birds with one stone: widen the gap separating it from apartheid to improve its relations with Africa; make an effort to have UN Resolution 435 applied; and finally, that which deprives them of so much sleep, the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. These are the goals that the United States has pursued: improving its international image, improving its image in the eyes of the African peoples, making some advance that will place them more comfortably before world public opinion, and having the Cuban troops withdraw from Angola.

The truth is that Cuba has no economic interest in Angola or in Africa. Cuba has no strategic interest in Angola or in Africa and it can't have them because Cuba is not a big power but a small country. Cuba is in Angola by virtue of internationalist principles, by virtue of the solidarity it feels, because it is doing its duty of helping other peoples. It is doing its duty of helping the African peoples against apartheid, against racism, against colonialism, against aggression from abroad. No other country is more interested than Cuba in bringing its troops back, no one else is more interested in this than Cuba. No one else benefits more than Cuba, no one else is more desirous of bringing the troops back than Cuba.

That's why a political solution that gives Angola guarantees, that opens the road to Namibia's independence, that moves the South African troops away from Angola's border and forces them to remain within their own borders, would be highly positive and highly desirable for us. We would never accept solutions that go against principles or beyond principles and that's why

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we've been able to remain there for 13 years already, out of principle, out of loyalty! [Applause]

No national interest, no danger — as shown by the history of all these years — no imperialist threat would have made us fall into disloyalty or default on our obligations — I already told you that not even when we were being threatened here did we withdraw a single man from Angola, not a single man! Yet no one else is interested more than our country in a solution like the one we've been discussing now, and no one else derives more benefit than our country, since with all the energy we're pouring into this effort, with all the sweat this effort is costing us, with all those valuable and mostly young men who are over there, our country could have a terrific force to boost our development programs.

## Returning troops' role in Cuba

On occasion the imperialists believe that it wouldn't suit us to find a solution and bring our troops back, because there wouldn't be jobs available for them. Jobs is what we have a surplus of here, programs is what we have a surplus of here. Our current programs are very ambitious and the returning troops could make a tremendous contribution to develop the country. In this case our interests coincide, our wishes coincide with the interests and the wishes of the United States. They seek a different goal from ours, but on the basis of such a solution our troops could return home and boost our current development programs.

I believe this helps to explain why the United States has worked with a certain degree of seriousness — I'm not saying 100 percent seriousness. Throughout these negotiations every once in a while they were partial to South Africa, every once in a while! In other words, they weren't entirely impartial.

But also throughout these months the representatives of the United States were able to verify, on the one hand, the seriousness of Angola and Cuba in these negotiations, for I think that was one of the characteristics of the Angolan and Cuban delegations. Who knows how biased the U.S. representatives were about our delegation, but they had plenty of time to verify the seriousness and, at the same time, the firmness and the principled policy of

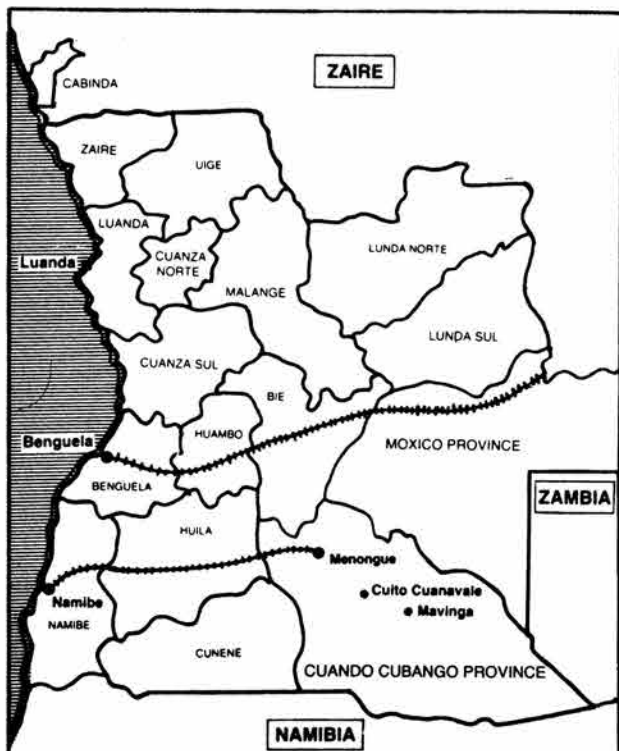
**“A political solution that gives Angola guarantees, that opens the road to Namibia's independence, that moves the South African troops away from Angola's border would be highly positive . . .**

Cuba and Angola. Throughout these long months of negotiations we know they were able to appreciate that. In turn, they were able to also appreciate the brazenness, effrontery, lack of seriousness, and cynicism displayed by the South Africans.

They have had many opportunities to observe this in their role as “mediators” in quotes, mediators with plenty of good relations with South Africa.

The fact that no solution has been signed yet, that no final accord has been reached yet, the United States knows that South Africa is to blame for it — the bad faith, the lack of seriousness of the South African representatives.

We've advanced a lot, we've advanced enough. Many



Angola

concessions were made by both parties as the negotiations progressed in setting up a troop withdrawal schedule, because our position was that if a solution was sought based on guarantees for Angola, on noninterference by South Africa in the internal affairs of Angola and the application of Resolution 435, then upon the causes that led to the presence of the Cuban troops in Angola really disappearing, both Angola and Cuba were ready to approve and abide by a scheduled withdrawal of the Cuban troops from Angola.

It was on that basis that the negotiations were carried out. We've advanced a lot and while we were almost nearing the final stage, due to the irregularities and the lack of seriousness of the South Africans we have not yet

**“Socialism is and always will be the hope, the only hope, the only road for the peoples, oppressed, exploited. Socialism is the only alternative . . .**

arrived at the signing of the accord, something that the international community and the government of the United States are very interested in. The South Africans' irregularities in these negotiations must have caused the United States many a bitter moment.

The discussion is almost centered now on a little point and this is the question of withdrawal verification. Agreement has been reached in almost everything. Angola and Cuba, right from the beginning, were the ones that raised the question of verification. We said: withdrawal with verification and verification done by the United Nations. We have started talks with the United Nations and agreement has already been practically reached on the general bases for verification.

The point we raised was that withdrawal be verified on board each ship or each plane on the departure of the personnel or equipment as they leave.

What did the South Africans seek? To verify the falling back of our troops to the north. What do we say? There won't be verification of the falling back of our troops. They practically demanded having their inspectors among our troops and that they be given all the information concerning quantity, composition, etc. of our troops, and we said no, under no circumstances.

In the United Nations we explained to the secretary-general and the UN representatives what verification consisted in — it was our initiative in token of our good faith and seriousness. But we said that we wouldn't furnish any type of information that might endanger our troops, information on their composition and weapons, which is always a security risk.

The Angolans agreed that once the troops had fallen back it could be verified on the site that no Cuban troops remained.

So all that's blocking negotiations at this moment is practically mere details.

They wanted the four-party agreement to make reference to verification and say that it had to be an acceptable verification. To accept the phrase “acceptable verification” is to entitle South Africa to make negotiations difficult, to start making demands and decide whether or not verification is acceptable, and that's for the United Nations and Cuba to verify, only the United Nations and Cuba can decide whether or not verification is acceptable! [Applause]

These are the points now under discussion.

I've said we've done our work very seriously and the United States knows it. We've worked to reach fair accords and we are prepared to strictly abide by the commitments we make. But we haven't accepted that any principle be violated, we haven't accepted any kind of demand or blackmail in these negotiations. We have stood very firmly on that and have acted in close coordination with the Angolans because, naturally, we respect the Angolans' viewpoints, the Angolans' opinions, the Angolans' interests. If at some point the Angolans ask us to yield on a given point, we would immediately yield. Of course, if there's something that concerns us, like the question of inspecting our troops, it would be up to us to accept it or not, and this sort of thing we will never accept. There are things that are up to us to decide and every decision of ours is made on the basis of principles. [Applause]

And so I'm giving you all these explanations today — and it has taken me a little longer to do it — so that you know, so that you understand, so that you realize the essence of all this process which brings us nearer to a solution. Now, if there's no solution, Cuba can't be held responsible for that.

## We're not after military victories

When we decided to reinforce our troops to confront a critical situation that had arisen, we clearly said we weren't after military victories but merely confronting a

given situation, and that we preferred a political solution. If we had no choice but to strike at the South Africans with all our strength, we were going to strike at them with all our strength, but not because that was what we wanted to do. [Applause] We didn't want victories at the expense of sacrificing a single life! We didn't want victories at the expense of shedding a single drop of blood! Sacrificing lives, shedding a drop of blood is only done when there's no other choice and whenever there's a possibility of finding a solution without making those sacrifices, we will prefer it above any other solution. And we said publicly: “We're not after military victories, we prefer a political solution”; but the conditions had been created for one thing or the other. That was really what was done.

We have conducted our discussions publicly and with absolute seriousness. We've never revealed a single detail of the negotiations. The South Africans were constantly revealing details of the negotiations taking place. We haven't even once violated the rule calling for discretion throughout these negotiations. And so now we can say here so that the whole world can hear it, our people, the U.S. people, the South Africans, the whole world: if there is no solution now, it's not Cuba's responsibility. And if they try to make unacceptable demands, violations of principles, as far as Cuba is concerned we're prepared to remain in Angola one more year, five more years, 10 more years, 15 more years, 20 more years! I think this ought to be made known. [Applause]

Three hundred thousand Cubans have carried out internationalist missions in Angola. If there have to be 600,000 to be so honored, there will be 600,000. But sacrifices are not made in vain, commitments are not to be violated, honor is not to be stained.

That's why we want to make our position clear for our adversaries: we want a solution. A solution would benefit no one more than Cuba! We are negotiating with the purpose of strictly meeting our obligations. Verification isn't even needed; we proposed it ourselves as a token of good faith. When we sign, whatever we sign we will do down to the letter. If such and such are our commitments we will strictly abide by them. That's why I say that verification isn't even necessary; it's our offer, our token of good faith.

But even the idea we put forth that the negotiations are good for us, that we want to negotiate, that it benefits no one more than it does Cuba, if that idea can lead anyone to confusion, to think that we're willing to sacrifice principles, that would be a serious mistake. We say so publicly, we say so for the entire people: we must be prepared to remain there for whatever time is necessary if there's no solution now! Without firmness there's no true peace! Without firmness not even negotiating is possible! [Applause]

This is, in essence, what I wanted to tell you in connection with our internationalist mission in Angola.

## Difficult and bitter decisions

A large portion of the time of our leadership, of our time, of the time of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, was taken up with this problem throughout the year. I already told you it wasn't easy making that decision and, above all, the moment when the decision was taken. I already told you in essence that it was on the eve of the Gorbachev-Reagan meeting. There were some who came to believe that we were plotting against peace, plotting against détente, given that it was under those circumstances that we felt compelled to send the reinforcement troops — but given the situation I assure you we couldn't lose a single day, we couldn't lose a single minute. One minute lost and it would have been too late.

There are moments when difficult decisions, bitter decisions have to be taken, and when that moment came our party and our armed forces didn't hesitate for a moment. I believe that helped us prevent a political calamity, a military calamity for Angola, for Africa and for all progressive forces. I believe that decisively boosted the prospects for peace now present in the region.

I believe that on a day like today homage should be paid to the efforts made by our troops and by our people — a mission we all can feel proud of, one more page of glory for our militant people, our armed forces, born on Oct. 10, 1868 and reborn on Dec. 2, 1956. [Applause]

There are some who have even dared to question the internationalist spirit and heroism of our people, who have criticized it. This is the Yankee hope: that anti-internationalist currents would arise among our people to weaken us. As we have often said before, being internationalists is repaying our debt to humanity. [Applause] Whoever is incapable of fighting for others will never be sufficiently able to fight for himself. [Applause] And the heroism shown by our forces, by our people in other lands, faraway lands, must also serve to let the imperialists know what awaits them if one day they force us to fight on this land here. [Applause and shouts]

Now, one last reflection. On a day like today we must be aware that the battle against the empire is not only waged in the military field, is not only waged weapon in hand, it is also waged in the ideological field, it is also waged in the field of consciousness.

I was telling you when I began this speech that the empire will never stop, as long as it exists, trying to destroy



our revolution by any means — military means or ideological means — by military means or by trying to destroy our revolutionary consciousness.

### The enemy never stops working

That's why on speaking of defense we must never forget that we have to know how to defend ourselves in both fields; in the military field and in the ideological field. We must never allow our revolutionary ideology to weaken! We must never allow our revolutionary consciousness to weaken! [Applause] The enemy never stops working in that field, in the ideological struggle, in its campaigns against our country abroad and in its campaigns against the revolution inside the country. It's not for nothing that it invests as many resources as possible to soften up our people, to present an idyllic image of its consumer society. If it can't break us, it tries to soften us up, to weaken us politically, to confuse us, and there are people who let themselves be confused; it tries to weaken us, and there are people who let themselves be weakened.

Let's say that we're experiencing a particular moment in the international revolutionary process. As some socialist countries criticize what they have done for many years, as they even deny things that have been affirmed for decades on end — and we respect everyone's right to criticize what they want to criticize and deny what they want to deny — we take into account that imperialism is trying to make the most of the situation, to gain the best advantage. Imperialism is practically trying to present socialism as a failure, as a system with no future, and is extolling to the utmost the alleged advantages of its selfish and repugnant capitalist system.

Never before have the imperialists applauded so much. Never before have they tried to praise their system so

“Working better and more efficiently is not only good for our country. It is good for the peoples of Latin America, the Third World, the socialist countries, the workers of capitalist countries . . .”

much. An interesting lesson for revolutionaries, undeniable proof of the long ideological struggle that lies ahead for socialism and Marxism-Leninism. [Applause]

In imperialist societies today, it is almost fashionable to question our objectives, to question our principles. Today more than ever we must be firm representatives of socialism and Marxism-Leninism; [Applause] today more than ever we must demonstrate our confidence and our faith.

It was Marxism-Leninism and the socialist idea above all that led us to where we are now, that performed the miracle of making our people what they are today and representing what we represent. Marxism-Leninism is what enlightened us, what made us see clearly; it was Marxism-Leninism, the correct interpretation of our reality, that made victory possible and it was the consistent application of its principles that gave our struggle content, great social historical objectives.

It was what made the *Granma* meaningful, and what meaning would the *Granma* have had without what we have today? What meaning would our struggle at the Moncada Garrison or our departure from Mexico or the landing in Cuba or the struggle in the mountains or our victory on January 1 have had? Or our victory over the dirty war, the victory in Girón, the proclamation of socialism — the fact that our country is what it is today and the fact that it is first in the world in many things: first in education, first in health, first in social security, first in employment, one of the first in food which is proved by the fact that there are no undernourished people here. [Applause]

The fact that our country, blockaded by the empire for 30 years, has reached the social and material successes that Cuba has reached is thanks to Marxism-Leninism and thanks to socialism! [Prolonged applause] Without it we would be nothing, without it there would never have been an October 1917 Russian revolution, without it the colonized countries would have never liberated themselves, without it there would have been no revolutions in Latin America, without it there would have never been a socialist revolution in Cuba.

Socialism is and always will be hope, the only hope, the only road for the peoples, the oppressed, the exploited, the plundered to follow; socialism is the only alternative! And today, when our enemies want to question it, we must defend it more than ever.

This is important, for we have a responsibility when we decide to give socialism prestige, to show what socialism can do, to improve socialism, to make socialism more efficient. We have achieved a lot, we have per-



Volunteer construction brigade in Cuba. Under socialism, Castro explains, “Really extraordinary things can be done, things that can never be done under capitalism.”

Militant/Lüko Willms

formed great feats, but there is still a lot to be done, we have a long way to go, we still have a lot of success to achieve.

If you see that someone tries to enter our country illegally to spy or to commit acts of sabotage or a crime, you fight him resolutely. If you see a landing craft arriving on our coasts, you immediately go out to fight them because they are attacking our physical security. If you see that enemy planes start bombing us, you won't hesitate a moment to shoot them down because you see that they are invading us, that they are attacking us. That's how we must fight against everything that weakens us, against anything that tarnishes socialism's prestige, against anything that makes it less efficient.

### Errors under socialism

Socialism is a new system, it is only a few decades old. Errors have been made under socialism; yes, lots of errors of all kinds throughout its history, a fact that was logical and also inevitable, and we must learn all the lessons these errors have provided us to avoid making them. The people of Cuba could say with satisfaction that they have not committed many of the errors committed by others. [Applause] We have made errors and we have to rectify starting from our errors. We shouldn't rectify starting from errors made by others but based on our own errors, on our own experience. [Applause]

And we have the duty to fight, just as we would fight an enemy landing on our soil, against anything that weakens the revolution, because we have to demonstrate the superiority of socialism in every field. How many times have we seen it, not only in our excellent schools or in some medical centers, not only in the great social achievements but also in the field of the economy, in the field of production? We see what people are capable of and what we are capable of achieving.

Recently I visited a number of places throughout the country. I visited the machine plant in Camagüey, where there are almost 4,000 workers, young people whose average age is 24; over 450 are university graduates, an extraordinary work collective created by the revolution, proof of what the revolution is capable of, and that constitutes a real hope.

We've seen it in the contingents that are building roads and working 13 and 14 hours a day; they are doing what no work collective does or can do under capitalism, through the rational use of resources and machines, and they are obtaining extraordinary results. We've seen it in Granma province, in work collectives that have received their banners and are building dams for rice plantations, for cane, to produce food for the population. We granted banners to three brigades! Among them there were many internationalists.

We saw it in Las Tunas province, at a rolling mill that was built in 17 months from the time the decision was made, built in Cuba and which is going to produce steel rods for construction. It is run by a young collective and was built by a contingent that completed it in 14 months and says that the next one will be finished in 12 months. We see that really extraordinary things can be done, things that can never be done under capitalism. [Applause]

We are taking advantage of all these possibilities, of all this strength; let us wage a large-scale battle against mediocrity, irresponsibility, indolence, negligence.

Whatever is wrong here is our fault, yours and ours, each worker's at his job and each leader's; and if what is wrong is our fault we have to scrutinize ourselves closely, we have to struggle consistently against our own deficiencies, our own negligence, our own indolence.

### Our country is a great example

And whereas this has always been our duty, it is our duty more than ever today, because today our country has great international responsibilities, great responsibilities! Not because it is a powerful country but because it is a great example of revolutionary spirit, of internationalism, of heroism, of bravery in its ability to face up to the empire, in its audacity to build socialism right next to the empire.

Our country has a great responsibility in Latin America, in this crucial hour for Latin America. Cuba is listened to more and more, Cuba's prestige increases by the day, and not only in Latin America but in the world. And at this difficult time for socialism when the empire is

Continued on next page



## Continued from previous page

using all its means to try to question everything and create confusion in the ideological field, we have the sacred patriotic mission and the sacred internationalist mission of raising the banners of socialism, the potential of socialism, the prestige of socialism as high as possible. [Applause]

Working better and more efficiently is not only good for our country but for the world, it is good for our cause, it is good for our ideology and, above all, it is good for the peoples of Latin America and the peoples of the Third World; it is good for all peoples, even the peoples of the socialist countries, and it is also good for the workers of capitalist countries.

Let us hold our heads higher than ever, let us raise these banners higher than ever, let us give them more prestige than ever, for if the empire takes pleasure in thinking that socialism's prestige is diminishing, or that the socialist system will fail, more than ever we must show the empire what socialism is capable of, more than ever we have to show it now and in difficult times! [Applause]

To defend banners in easy times is not at all difficult, it is nothing particularly meritorious. To defend socialism when it is in fashion or at the peak of its prestige is easy; to defend socialism when it is having difficulties on the international scene is really a meritorious task. To defend socialism when there aren't only international difficulties but national difficulties as well, is really the most meritorious task, and we have to defend socialism

now that there are international difficulties and also national difficulties. Some are derived from our own errors, others are derived from situations beyond our control.

## Where our errors lie

Our errors lie in not having done more in the same time period, in not having done things better for 30 years, in having made mistakes, some of which stemmed from imitating the experience of other socialist countries, from imitating the experience of other countries, many of which are now saying that their experience was no good. We don't want anyone saying 10 or 20 years from now that some of the things they're doing today were no good. That's why we must base ourselves on our experience, our own ideas, our own interpretations of Marxism-Leninism. Having interpreted Marxism-Leninism in a creative and original manner, not having let ourselves be weighed down by dogmas is what led us to victory, what led us to where we are now.

But the difficulties derived from our own errors mustn't lead us to discouragement, just as the difficulties derived from the errors that are not ours shouldn't discourage us either. We shouldn't be discouraged by the objective conditions that exist in the world of today, where billions of people are plundered by the neocolonial powers and imperialist powers. We shouldn't be discouraged by problems that are objective, that are affecting humanity as a whole, that especially affect the countries of Latin America and the Third World. On the contrary, we should raise our voices to summon all our peoples to

common struggles to overcome those objective difficulties.

We should be ready to overcome any obstacle. If the road were smooth, if it were easy, there would be no honor, no glory in being called a revolutionary, there would be no dignity, no pride in being considered revolutionary.

We must be prepared to face all difficulties and all attacks and to struggle on all fronts; as I said, not only on military grounds but on political and ideological grounds as well.

## Strengthening Cuban Communist Party

Under these circumstances, strengthening confidence in the party and the unity behind the party is more important than ever. [Applause] I say the unity behind the party, behind our party and behind our party's interpretation. Parties can make mistakes, they can have weaknesses and what we have to do is correct them, overcome the mistakes. But whoever tries to destroy our faith in the party is undermining the bases of our confidence, the bases of our strength.

Whoever weakens the party's authority will be weakening the revolution's authority. Without a party there can be no revolution, without a party there can be no socialism. [Applause and shouts] Without the party and without its authority, the process couldn't make any progress. That's why it is our revolution's duty to give the party more and more authority. It is the members' duty to watch over the party's prestige and authority more and more.

Discipline today is more indispensable than ever. Anyone who promotes or commits social indiscipline is supporting the enemy, is a conscious or unconscious agent of the enemy.

That's why all those manifestations of indiscipline, all those wrongdoings, everything done badly, everything immoral or illegal must be forcefully combated everywhere, [Applause] because they are like the crews on board the landing craft nearing our coasts to invade the country; they are the fifth column, the agents, the servants of imperialism's ideology, of capitalism's ideology, of the counterrevolution's ideology.

I repeat: What is done badly, wrongdoing, sloppiness, negligence, social indiscipline, and I would even say delinquency are, in the ideological sphere, like landing craft nearing our coasts to invade our country. In other words, we must wage a battle in the ideological field, a battle in the political field, a daily battle in the construction of socialism, a daily battle for efficiency, because the other battle is more easily seen.

If planes come here to bomb us, if ships come to fire cannons on us, if soldiers come to land here, the military battle is easier to see than the other battle. The enemy is easier to identify on a battlefield than in the field of economics, in the field of politics, in the field of ideology.

That's why today we must reflect on this, on the need to defend ourselves in every field, on the need to be armed in every field, ready for defense in every sphere and without letting any difficulty discourage us.

## Difficulties may increase

We are fighting against objective and material difficulties and we are trying to overcome them. The battle isn't easy. The difficulties may even increase. We're going through a very special situation.

New experiments, new experiences, all kinds of reforms are taking place in the socialist camp, especially in the USSR; if they are successful, it will be good for socialism and for everyone else; if they have serious difficulties, the consequences will be especially hard for us. Thus, we may be in for difficulties from the enemy camp and difficulties from our own friends. But not even this will be able to discourage us.

Precisely today, 32 years ago, on December 5, we had our worst setback in the whole war. At about this time I was with two other men, Raúl [Castro] was with another handful of comrades, there was hardly anything left of our army, nothing worse could have been conceived, but none of us was discouraged, we were determined to go on fighting and we did, we were determined to reach victory and we did, we were determined to continue the struggle and we did, and that's why now millions of men and women like you have been able to organize and arm yourselves. [Applause]

That's why today we have a party made up of hundreds of thousands of members, plus the hundreds of thousands of members of the Young Communist League, plus the millions of men and women who work in the countryside, in our factories, and in our services. What I want to say is that we are men of struggle, that we are men who have never been discouraged by any difficulty because we have known how to live through the most difficult times, and if we were able to win when we were only a handful that could be counted on our fingers, now that we are millions, there can be no kind of force, external or internal, no objective or subjective difficulties capable of stopping our victorious and definitive march toward the future!

Homeland or death!  
We will win! [Ovation]

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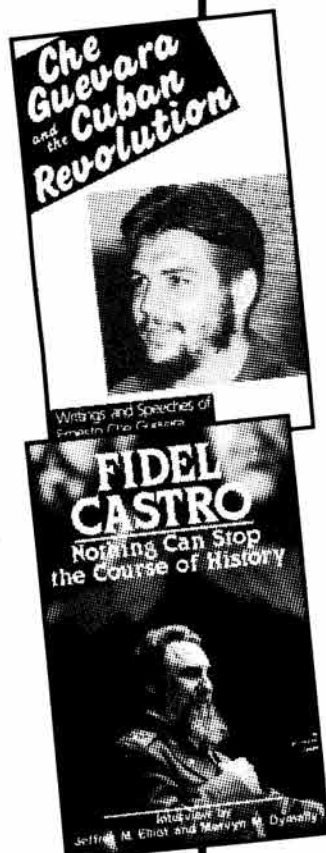
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Goldman trying to quiet protesters at 1939 Works Progress Administration demonstration as Minnesota Gov. Harold Stassen waits to speak.

# Max Goldman: a leader of 1930s unemployed movement

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

LOS ANGELES — Max Goldman, a central leader of struggles of the unemployed in the 1930s and for many years a member of the Socialist Workers Party, died here December 2.

Goldman served two separate federal prison sentences in Minnesota. A government frame-up resulting from his role as a leader of striking workers on federal projects put him behind bars the first time in 1939. He later returned to prison as one of the Minneapolis 18, the first victims of the Smith Act thought-control law.

Goldman was born in Warsaw, Poland, on May 8, 1905, and immigrated to New York when he was eight. His father, who had moved to the United States earlier, had become a garment worker and a member of Local 22 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Goldman grew up on Manhattan's Lower East Side and in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn. "After graduating from grammar school, I went to work as was expected of the oldest boy in a Jewish family," Goldman wrote. Later he went to night school for a year and for two years attended classes at the City College of New York without receiving formal credit.

## Joins communist movement

Goldman joined the Young Communist League in 1927 after becoming active in support of Passaic, New Jersey, textile strikers and the struggle to save Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, anarchist labor activists executed in 1927 on frame-up charges.

Goldman moved to Chicago where he lost his job following the 1929 stock market crash. After drifting away from the Communist Party, Goldman joined the Communist League of America in 1930. A forerunner of the SWP, the CLA had been established by CP leaders expelled in 1928 for resisting moves by the majority of the party leadership to abandon Leninist policies.

While in Chicago, Goldman met Goldy Cooper, who he was soon to marry. Cooper was from Chaska, Minnesota, near Minneapolis. During visits to her home, Goldman got to know the Minneapolis CLA members. Under their leadership, the Teamsters in that city would win historic victories that contributed to the organization of industrial unions throughout the country.

Goldman returned to New York where he took part in a hotel strike in 1934. He served for a time as New York organizer of the CLA. Soon, however, he moved to Minneapolis.

In 1934 Teamsters Local 574 launched a drive to organize the trucking industry in Minneapolis. This was during the depths of the depression, and thousands were unemployed in the city.

Regarding the union's approach to the unemployed, Farrell Dobbs, a Local 574 leader, who later became SWP national secretary, wrote in *Teamster Politics*:

"There was great potential for support from the city's unemployed. The jobless were in a deeply rebellious mood. Gener-

ally speaking, they looked upon any struggle against the status quo as their struggle. Some among them were, of course, susceptible to being tricked into serving the bosses as strikebreakers; but that danger could be minimized if organized labor sought to promote united action by the employed and unemployed in defense of their collective interests."

## Leader of Federal Workers Section

In the spring of 1935 Local 574 set up an auxiliary unit known as the Federal Workers Section. As members of the FWS, the unemployed were organized directly under the sponsorship of the union movement, whether they had previously been in a union or not. Thousands of workers eventually swelled the ranks of the FWS.

"Responsibility for political leadership within the section fell primarily upon Max Goldman, who spoke for it publicly on major occasions," Farrell Dobbs wrote.

The FWS fought on behalf of unemployed workers, seeking an end to abusive treatment meted out by city authorities and an increase in benefits for those on relief. Quoted in *Teamster Politics*, Goldman said that unemployed workers felt demeaned, facing "the indignity of having to fill out forms and of being interrogated by relief interviewers: such as, how much money do you have, when were you last employed, why do you need relief, etc., etc.?"

Goldman wrote a short play that was performed before the unemployed. It portrayed the plight of one family being interrogated by a welfare investigator. "This scene had a devastating effect on every audience before which we played," Goldman recalled. "Those present sobbed, lived again through their own bitter experiences, and hissed and booed our actress relief investigator."

When unemployed workers were hauled before relief officials, the FWS sent a representative to help them stand up for their rights.

## Fight for livable income

In response to the jobless crisis, the federal government set up the Works Progress Administration. Paying unskilled workers meager wages, the WPA undertook some useful construction projects, along with make-work schemes designed to avoid competing with individual capitalists. When the unemployed began to come into the WPA, they found they were getting less money than on relief. They demanded the local relief program make up the difference.

In the fight for supplementary relief, Goldman wrote, "We stormed every section of the welfare board, picketed City Hall, organized mass meetings, and mobilized big demonstrations. We held all-night vigils at the homes of Farmer-Labor Party representatives on the board." The fight succeeded in winning a year-long supplement for WPA workers, as well as several other concessions.

In an interview with the *Militant* several years ago, socialist farmer John Enesvedt recalled organizing WPA workers in rural Minnesota. "I remember there was a conflict in Olivia with the WPA officials," he

said. "Max Goldman came out and it was settled just like that. Just the fact that he came convinced them to grant our demands right away. I learned firsthand how honest unionism works."

In 1938-39, the federal government began to scale back the WPA, diverting the funds for preparations for the coming war. The FWS initiated a mass protest at the statehouse in St. Paul to protest the cuts in WPA. More than 5,000 WPA workers showed up. The Minneapolis Teamsters provided trucks decked with banners demanding: "Bread not bullets," "All war funds to the unemployed," and "\$30 for 30 hours."

## WPA workers strike

When Congress passed and President Roosevelt signed the Woodrum bill in June 1939, which lengthened hours and cut pay of WPA workers, a national strike wave developed, with Minneapolis in the lead.

In a move to bust the strike, the government sought to use scabs in reopening a federal sewing project in Minneapolis. The work force had been mainly women, organized by the FWS. When nearly 10,000 strikers and their supporters showed up at the work site to resist attempts to herd the scabs into the building, the cops opened an assault with tear-gas and gunfire. Emil Bergstrom, a 60-year-old unemployed worker, was shot to death. Others were wounded.

Following Bergstrom's funeral, thousands accompanied the casket to the cemetery. Goldman gave the memorial address. Calling for the repeal of the recently passed bill, Goldman said, "We must also build for a society where labor shall not have to ask for relief, where labor may enjoy those blessings which it now produces for others."

The U.S. attorney general soon opened an attack on the FWS. A federal grand jury investigation began, at which FBI agents fingered FWS leaders and activists. More than 100 workers were indicted on Aug. 18, 1939, for "conspiracy" to violate the Woodrum law. Eventually 12 were convicted and sent to federal prison at Sandstone, Minnesota. Goldman was sentenced to a year and a day. Despite demands for a pardon pouring in from the labor movement around the country, Goldman and the others had to serve their full sentences.

## Smith Act trial

On Oct. 17, 1941, Goldman found himself on trial once more, before the same judge who sent him to prison previously. This time he was among those leaders of the SWP and Teamsters who were charged with violating the Smith Act. The first victims of this recently passed thought-control legislation, they were accused of advocating the violent overthrow of the U.S. government as a result of their antiwar and trade union activities.

The case of the Minneapolis 18 won broad support. But eventually they were convicted, and on Dec. 31, 1943, Goldman entered Sandstone again, where he spent another 13 months.

Upon release, he moved to Philadelphia and became the SWP branch organizer. In the 1950s, Goldman took party assign-

ments in Los Angeles, Chicago, and Newark.

In the early 1960s he moved to Los Angeles where he lived until his death. During the 1970s Goldman provided valuable assistance to Farrell Dobbs during the preparation of Dobbs' four-book series on the Teamsters. Dobbs especially acknowledged Goldman's help on the volume *Teamster Politics*, for which Goldman taped considerable background information on the unemployed movement, much of which is quoted in the text.

Goldman remained a member of the SWP until 1983, when organizational and political differences led him out of the party and he became a founder of Socialist Action. Later he left that organization and helped establish Solidarity, which he belonged to until he died.

Shortly before his death, Goldman attended a meeting here that commemorated the life of Oscar Coover, Jr., a longtime SWP leader.

## Goldman's legacy

Speaking on behalf of the SWP at a December 23 meeting sponsored by Solidarity to celebrate Goldman's life, Paul Montauk paid special tribute to Goldman's role as a leader of the FWS. "In the coming economic crisis, lessons from the struggle Goldman led will become increasingly valuable to those seeking to build the unity of employed and unemployed workers," Montauk said.

Montauk also drew attention to the fight to free Mark Curtis, a young Iowa packing-house worker imprisoned because of trade union activity, as was Goldman. "Max's legacy helps inspire young fighters like Mark Curtis and others who are struggling to transform today's unions into organizations that will follow the example of Local 574."

Also speaking at the meeting were Solidarity members Theodore Edwards, Andrea Hauptman, Les Evans, and Sheavy Goldman, Max's second wife. Dave Cooper, Goldy Cooper's brother and member of Socialist Action, spoke when members of the audience were invited to add their remarks.

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# Growing U.S.-Europe trade conflict erupts over beef dispute

BY SUSAN LaMONT

When the new year opened, the European Economic Community (EEC) began enforcing a ban on beef imports from the United States. The EEC cited Washington's refusal to comply with its regulation against using growth-promoting hormones in meat for human consumption. The 12 European Community countries import \$130 million in U.S. beef annually, out of some \$1 billion in total worldwide U.S. beef exports. The one exception made by the EEC was to allow the continued import of hormone-treated beef for pet foods.

The U.S. government immediately responded by slapping an equivalent amount of tariffs on a variety of agricultural products from Europe. Danish hams, Italian tomatoes, and French cheeses are among the many items now subject to 100 percent import tariffs — meaning a sharp, if not prohibitive, rise in their cost to U.S. consumers.

Further measures are threatened on both sides if the issue remains unresolved. The EEC is considering new duties on U.S. honey, walnuts, canned corn, and dried fruits; Washington is weighing a ban on all European meat imports — worth \$450 million a year — and other sanctions.

The ban on hormone-treated meat was enacted by the European Parliament in 1985 and was originally scheduled to go into effect Jan. 1, 1988, but U.S. pressure delayed its implementation. Meanwhile, other countries that export beef to Europe — Australia, New Zealand, Brazil, and Argentina — decided to comply with the ban by shipping only hormone-free beef to the EEC.

On December 31, the EEC reached an agreement with Canadian meat exporters that allows continued importing of pork, pet food, and horsemeat — which account for most of the \$50 million annual Canadian meat sales in Europe — while barring a small volume of hormone-treated beef.

U.S. officials dismiss European concern over the health effects of hormone-treated beef as absurd. After all, they argue, people in the United States eat the beef produced here — more than half of which comes from hormone-treated cattle. The EEC ban, says U.S. Trade Representative Clayton Yeutter, is simply an unfair trade practice. Yeutter was recently named secretary of agriculture by incoming president George Bush.

Not so, respond EEC spokespeople, since the rule applies to meat produced within the member countries as well as to imports. And, says Roy Denman, EEC ambassador to the United States, "The United States could export hormone-free beef. That is what virtually all of our major meat suppliers . . . have already decided to do."

## Growing protectionism

This sharp escalation of the simmering dispute over beef exports is one example of the growing conflict between U.S. and European capitalists, as interimperialist competition heats up in face of declining profit rates and the scramble for markets becomes more intense.

Despite rhetoric about commitment to "free trade," the major imperialist countries on both sides of the Atlantic are in fact lining up behind higher protectionist walls in order to improve their position against their respective competitors. This is the context in which the dispute over hormone-treated beef is unfolding.

The U.S. and Canadian governments recently concluded a pact that will eliminate most trade restrictions between the two countries over the next decade. This powerful North American trading bloc, reason the major U.S. and Canadian industrialists, bankers, and agricultural monopolists, will put them in a stronger position to compete with their counterparts in Europe, Japan, and elsewhere.

The EEC, for its part, has concluded an agreement, set to be completed by the end of 1992, that will get rid of most trade barriers between the participating countries: Britain, France, West Germany, Spain, Italy, Portugal, Belgium, Denmark, Ire-

land, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Greece. With a total population of 320 million, the EEC "will have become the world's single richest market," says Philip Revzin of the *Wall Street Journal*. "Its new economic muscle will permit it to compete more fiercely in the global business fray even as the market encourages America and Japan to compete more fiercely in Europe."

## Agricultural subsidies

During the 1980s, agricultural products have become an area of increasingly sharp international competition, including between the United States and the EEC, due to the world "overproduction" of some commodities.

At a time when hundreds of millions of working people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America suffer from hunger, malnutrition, and even famine and when tens of thousands of working farmers in many countries are being driven off the land, there is — by capitalist reckoning — actually too much food in the world. Since 1981, for example, world market prices for wheat have declined by almost half, while wheat stocks have grown by two-thirds and now equal two years' total trade volume.

The EEC, formed in 1958, has played a big role in this, going from being a food importer to one of the world's biggest food exporters — in competition with the United States, Canada, Australia, and other major food-exporting countries.

Beef products are among those farmers in the EEC are producing more of. Ten years ago, they met 95 percent of the EEC's beef needs. Today, they produce between 105 and 110 percent.

In the decade leading up to 1983, agricultural exports from the EEC rose 42 percent in real terms. Production of wheat rose from 97 percent of the EEC's own needs to 125 percent, and production of sugar from 93 percent of its needs to 155 percent. The trend has continued, and today capitalist merchants in the EEC export the most sugar and dairy products in the world and the third most wheat.

One result of this expansion of EEC agricultural output has been a decline in U.S. farm exports. Between 1980 and 1986, for example, U.S. coarse grain exports declined 48 percent.

Faced with this food "glut" and consequent stagnating world trade in agricultural products, the U.S. rulers have been pressing to make U.S. farm products more competitive on the world market, especially vis-à-vis the EEC. To this end, the Reagan administration has proposed slashing government-financed price supports in the United States and internationally.

The reasoning of major sections of the U.S. rulers goes like this: if all countries eliminate or substantially lower subsidies to farmers, those with the most efficient agriculture, transport, and storage systems — that is, U.S. agricultural interests — would come out on top. Through the government in Washington, U.S. exporters have been pressuring the EEC to lower its price supports, which are substantially higher than those in the United States, and are especially geared to subsidizing exports.

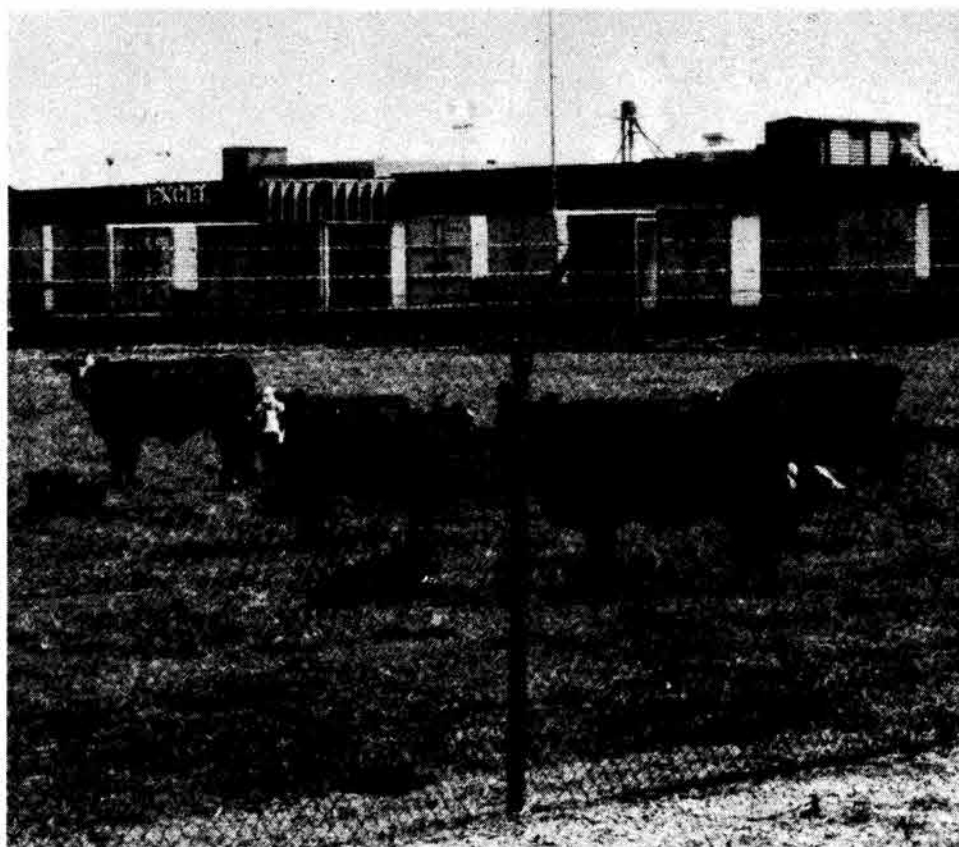
EEC farmers are guaranteed prices higher than those prevailing on the world market for products sold inside the EEC. At the same time, they are granted subsidies for products that are exported, making it also profitable to sell surplus EEC products at the lower world market prices.

EEC governments, anxious to protect their own capitalist agricultural interests from cheaper U.S. products, have resisted this proposal.

The subsidies are governed by the EEC's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). In 1985, CAP subsidies to agricultural producers, the lion's share of which go to capitalist farmers, amounted to about two-thirds of the \$20 billion EEC budget.

## U.S. stonewalls GATT talks

The current beef dispute broke out just a few weeks after international trade talks in



Militant/Katy Karlin

**Cattle awaiting slaughter at Texas packinghouse. U.S. government and capitalist meat exporters claim European concern over hormone-treated beef is unwarranted. More than half of U.S.-produced beef comes from hormone-treated animals.**

Montréal stalled over Washington's insistence that participating countries agree to a goal of eliminating what U.S. officials term "trade-distorting" farm subsidies over the next 10 years. The U.S. proposal, says EEC chief negotiator Willy De Clercq, was "nothing more than an effort to dismantle the CAP. And those who seek to dismantle the CAP will find that we will not permit this to happen." Various compromise proposals were rejected by the U.S. delegation.

This round of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) negotiations began in 1986 and is scheduled to resume in April in Geneva and end in 1990. The GATT is nominally aimed at easing government barriers to trade among the 96 participating countries. As the beef dispute and agricultural subsidies debate indicate, the agreement is showing signs of strain, flowing mainly from greater interimperialist competition and Washington's growing inability to simply dictate the trade terms most favorable to U.S. imperialism's interests.

## Small farmers' interests

Exploited farmers in the United States, Canada, France, Britain, West Germany, and elsewhere are constantly told by capitalist spokespeople that the key to improving their situation lies in protecting themselves against the farmers of other countries. This narrow, nationalist perspective — even if dressed up as "EEC" or "U.S.-Canada" policy — only serves as a roadblock to farmers around the world joining in a united fight against their common enemy — the international food merchants, bankers, and landlords.

The severe problems faced by working farmers around the globe flow from the workings of the capitalist system itself. Already in decline, all signs indicate that the world capitalist economy is headed for an even deeper crisis, which will have devastating consequences for hundreds of millions of workers and farmers.

Given this, small farmers and ranchers will find no solutions to their needs, especially guaranteed land and a decent income, in the U.S. or European imperialists' trade proposals, which are aimed solely at strengthening themselves against their competitors. This is similar to the lesson many U.S. packinghouse, and other workers have learned the hard way — that they can't defend themselves against the capitalist crisis by supporting concession contracts or other schemes aimed at making "their" meat-packing company or industry more competitive against that in some other company or country.

## Hormones a health hazard?

While competition between U.S. and European capitalists is at the heart of the conflict over beef exports, the European capitalists have been able to demagogically take advantage of the question of hormones in meat to bolster their overall position. Washington and the major U.S. meat exporters and processors, on the other hand, have shown utter insensitivity to the con-

cerns of millions of working people about the hazards of chemical adulteration of food.

The EEC ban on hormone-treated meat was enacted as a result of mounting concern, especially in West Germany and Italy, over the effects of eating such food.

U.S. officials contend these worries are unwarranted because the amount of added hormones, which include testosterone, progesterone, and two synthetic compounds, is so small that no health threat could be posed. Although no evidence has been offered that proves hormone-treated meat is unsafe when doses are strictly limited, some consumer activists point out that feed lot operators, who fatten cattle up for slaughter, have been found to give animals too much of the hormones or implant them improperly. Up to 90 percent of feed lot cattle are given hormones.

One reason for strong concern in Europe about such abuses was a 1981 experience in Italy, where synthetic diethylstilbestrol — DES — was found in baby food made from veal. Some babies who ate the food developed severe health problems. Infants of both sexes developed breasts, for example, and some infant girls started menstruating. DES had already been banned in Europe and the United States as a carcinogen, but was given illegally to the cattle, which was then sold for baby food.

The hormones now used by U.S. beef producers are administered to the cattle, usually in the form of a small pill implanted in the animal's ear, in the 120 days before slaughter. A typical steer or heifer will gain 50 more pounds in lean meat rather than fat if hormones are administered, eat less feed, and fatten up in less time. National Cattlemen's Association spokesman Thomas Beall estimates that hormone implants save the \$23 billion cattle industry at least \$650 million a year.

Many working people in the United States are also worried about the health effects of food treated with chemicals, hormones, and other additives, despite U.S. government and food industry attempts to pooh-pooh such concerns. The Agriculture Department, in fact, plans to cut the number of inspectors at meat and poultry processing plants from 2,200 to 1,100 and eliminate daily inspections altogether at some plants. This goes along with the meat industry's drive to squeeze more profits out of its work force through crippling speedup and other severely worsened health and safety conditions.

Washington is trying to line up U.S. cattle producers, big and small, behind its position on hormone-treated beef, with some success. But some cattle producers are concerned that Washington's intransigent stance will backfire. "We've been talking out of both sides of our mouths," says Don Ralston of the Nebraska-based family farm organization, Center for Rural Affairs. "Our industry has regularly complained about imports that don't meet our standards, and now we try to impose our standards on the Europeans."



# Cuba, Angola, South Africa sign accord

## UN ceremony hears sharp exchanges between government representatives

BY SAM MANUEL

UNITED NATIONS, New York — Diplomats from nearly 100 countries were present here Dec. 22, 1988, for the ceremonial signing of a trilateral pact between Angola, Cuba, and South Africa; and a bilateral agreement between Angola and Cuba. The trilateral agreement, if implemented, will go a long way toward ending the 13-year South African- and U.S. government-run war against the people of Angola.

The accord known as the Brazzaville Protocol was agreed to by the three governments at a meeting in Brazzaville, Congo, on December 13. That meeting was the last in a series of talks between the three countries that began in May. The negotiations were mediated by the U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, Chester Crocker.

That agreement also sets April 1, 1989, as the date to begin implementation of UN Resolution 435/78 to establish independence for Namibia. UN-sponsored elections to establish the Namibian government are to take place Nov. 1, 1989. That south-west African country has been occupied by South Africa for 73 years.

The ceremony was punctuated with sharp exchanges by government representatives of Angola and Cuba on one side, and South Africa and the United States on the other.

"After 13 years of aggression and violations of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola by the South African army; and after a cruel war imposed mainly by South Africa and for several years now by the United States — which has caused enormous destruction, tens of thousands of deaths, particularly among the civilian population, and thousands of maimed — the invading and aggressive South African army has had to withdraw from Angolan territory," said Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca.

Angolan, Cuban, and South West Africa People's Organisation of Namibia troops dealt a decisive military defeat to South African troops and their Angolan ally, UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), in March of last year. South African troops withdrew from Angola five months later.

"This, however, does not imply any change in the essence of the South African racist regime whose policy of apartheid embodies the destabilizing factor in southern Africa," explained Malmierca.

"It is not surprising," added the Cuban minister, "that the president of the United States in his statement to the UN General Assembly, when referring to the conflict in southern Africa, did not even mention apartheid, the main cause of conflict in this region."

### End U.S. interference in Angola

"It is our view that the present agreements do not fully solve the regional conflicts within southern Africa, since the destabilization of the countries of the region remains a serious concern," noted Angolan Foreign Minister Afonso Van Dunem.

"It is imperative," Van Dunem stressed, "that there be no more foreign meddling in Angola's internal affairs. It is imperative that all countries, even those that don't have diplomatic relations with ours, scrupulously abide by the universally accepted principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the states. . . ."

"The practical implications of these principles implies the cessation of all kinds of aid and other facilities extended to the armed bands who are destabilizing the social and economic life of our country," explained Van Dunem.

U.S. government officials have repeatedly stated that Washington will continue to provide military and financial aid to UNITA unless the Angolan government agrees to hold talks with the contra group aimed at setting up a coalition government. UNITA is not mentioned in the signed agreement.

### Apartheid challenge

The diplomatic audience seemed bewildered at the speech made by South African



Signing of Brazzaville Protocol. Seated from left to right: United Nations Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, Angolan Foreign Minister Afonso Van Dunem, Angolan Gen. Antonio dos Santos Franca Ndalu, and Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca.

Foreign Minister Roelof Botha.

Botha challenged the UN's authority in Namibia stating it had "lapsed with the dissolution of the League of Nations" the predecessor to the UN.

Botha asserted that Namibia had "benefited from the vast technical knowledge of South Africa."

"It is well provided for with modern transportation, telecommunications, clinics, hospitals, schools, and other facilities for the medical, cultural, and social needs of its scattered population," Botha claimed. He called Namibia an "onerous financial burden" on the South African taxpayer.

Departing from his prepared remarks, Botha challenged Malmierca to a debate on the conditions of human rights in South Africa as compared to Cuba's.

"If you would like to have the occasion, I and my staff and my colleagues stand ready to carry on until late tonight. There is nothing we would like to do better," said the South African official.

Following Botha's remarks, Malmierca strongly appealed to UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar for an opportunity to respond. U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, who was chairing at the time, ignored Malmierca's request.

In closing the ceremony, Shultz complained, "much of what has been said by some of the participants I do not appreciate. . . ."

In a press conference following the ceremony, Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcón responded to Botha's challenge saying that to discuss human rights with the apartheid officials would be, "a waste of time and meaningless."

### Angolan-Cuban accord

The signing of the bilateral agreement between Angola and Cuba, held in the same hall, was chaired by the UN secretary-general. The agreement provides for a scheduled series of reductions and redeployment of Cuban troops in Angola. The Cuban troop withdrawal, scheduled to be completed by July 1991, would be verified by an unarmed UN observer force.

In compliance with the trilateral agreement South Africa would reduce its estimated 50,000 troops and 24,000-strong territorial force in Namibia to 1,500 by July 1989.

Throughout the negotiations Pretoria and Washington insisted on a rapid withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. Cuban and Angolan officials repeatedly emphasized that the withdrawal of the Cuban troops would be negotiated solely between Angola and Cuba.

"The government of the People's Republic of Angola reaffirms its solidarity with and its appreciation to Cuba. We believe that its contribution will be remembered in the history of the struggle by the peoples for freedom, peace, and security," said Van Dunem.

Cuban troops came to Angola at that government's request to help repel a massive South African military invasion in 1975. Cuban forces have remained ever

since helping to defend Angola's independence.

"More than 300,000 Cubans, supported in one way or another by all of our people, have carried out and successfully concluded one of the most honorable acts in the history of internationalism," Malmierca said.

"In our fraternal country, Cuba leaves no military bases or property of any kind. Nor

do we claim any right whatsoever on any Angolan resources.

"As we announced 12 years ago", Malmierca emphasized, "we shall only carry back the love and respect of Angola's dedicated and heroic people and the remains of the sons of the Cuban people who have fallen in defense of the sovereignty and integrity of Angola against foreign aggression and apartheid."

## —WORLD NEWS BRIEFS—

### Moroccan king to meet with Saharan front

King Hassan II of Morocco has agreed to meet with leaders of the Polisario Front. Troops of the front have been fighting Moroccan occupation forces for 13 years in an effort to gain independence for Western Sahara.

In an interview in the French-language weekly *Le Point* at the end of December, Hassan said he would listen to anyone who wanted to talk about the territory, including the Polisario Front. He added that such talks would not be considered negotiations.

Polisario leaders, from their headquarters in Algeria, responded by declaring a truce and announcing they would soon send a high-level delegation to Morocco.

Last August Morocco and the Polisario Front agreed in principle to a United Nations- and Organization of African Unity-sponsored peace plan. It calls for a vote by residents of the former Spanish colony either to set up an independent state or to become part of Morocco.

The plan left open some important issues, such as establishing a cease-fire and a prisoner exchange, that the front said direct talks could help to resolve. Also unresolved is who would be eligible to vote in the proposed elections.

The Moroccan monarchy has sent tens of thousands of troops and civilians into Western Sahara as part of its occupation of the territory.

### Hostel for immigrants bombed in France

Two firebombs exploded at a hostel for immigrant workers in southern France on Dec. 19, 1988, killing one worker and injuring 12 others.

Police investigators said that several dozen anti-Muslim tracts bearing Stars of David were found at the scene of the bombing in Cagnes-sur-Mer, seven miles west of Nice. Police also said that the tracts were signed by a group calling itself Masada. A group using the same name took responsibility for a May 9, 1988, bombing at a hostel for immigrant workers in nearby Cannes.

Antiracist groups and some government officials in France condemned the

bombing and suggested the attack was not perpetrated by a Jewish group, but instead by someone who was both anti-Jewish and anti-Arab.

Last June the head of another hostel for immigrant workers defused a bomb placed beneath his car. In October a firebomb was thrown at the Algerian consulate in Nice.

Harlem Désir, president of SOS Racism, a group that has been in the forefront of fighting discrimination against immigrant workers in France, condemned the December 19 attack. He asserted that the name Masada was a "mask" used to cover the racist "anti-Semitic as well as anti-Arab" character of the attackers.

### Brazilian rubber union leader murdered

Francisco Mendes Filho, leader of a union of rubber tappers in Brazil, was murdered December 22. Mendes was shot to death outside his home in Xapurí.

The rubber tappers have grown into a strong union that has organized sit-ins in which union members and their families have prevented bulldozers from destroying the tropical rain forest.

After demonstrating that the rubber tappers can collect latex, resin, nuts, and plants in the forest without destroying it, the union forced the government to give it four reserves for the union.

Such victories have brought the union into sharpening conflict with ranchers and land speculators seeking fast fortunes by clearing the forest lands. Police are said to be holding four men for Mendes' murder, all of them relatives of Darli and Alvarino Alves, both capitalist ranchers.

The government responded to the murder by sending in the federal police, ordering a nationwide search for the killers, and appointing Romeo Tuma, head of the federal police, to investigate the murder.

A lawyer for the union said that its members were not impressed with the government's actions. He noted that last October when death threats against Mendes became known even to the police the union sent telegrams to Tuma and other high government officials but never received a reply.



# THE GREAT SOCIETY

**Higher education** — A touring seminar on how to fire legally includes such pointers as: "How to dismiss an employee for a 'bad attitude,'" "How to 'build a file' on



Harry Ring

an employee that will hold up in court," "How to safely let a senior worker go — even one near retirement," "The smartest course of action to take when an employee becomes violent."

**Them that has want?** — Salaries of British corporate execs shot up more than 30 percent last year, as contrasted to a reported 3.8 percent for workers. Researchers said a key factor in the spiraling executive salaries is higher expectations.

**The march of technology** — From Hammacher Schlemmer, the New York gadget folk, a golf cap with a built-in solar-powered fan to cool your flushed brow.

**A real value** — A Boston spa offers a special package: a night at the Presidential Suite at the Ritz-Carlton (all you can eat or drink), limo service to the spa, Austrian mudpacks and Swiss showers,

seaweed body wraps — \$3,000.

**But everything's fine** — In mid-December alone, London stock brokers axed 600 employees.

**Happy New Year** — Forty percent of the members of the National Association of Business Economists said the United States will probably be in a recession by the end of the year. And 88 percent predicted the slump would come before the end of 1990.

**They care** — With an outbreak of salmonella poisoning from eggs, sales in Britain have dropped 70 percent. Meanwhile, the Egg Producers' Association sought to ship

a million eggs to Armenian earthquake victims.

**Capitalism, it's wonderful** — The Nuclear Regulatory Commission said that electrical equipment rebuilding outfits may have sold potentially defective circuit breakers to 110 nuke plants, posing a safety threat. One dealer in the king-size breakers, which sell for up to \$300,000, said many of his rivals, but not he, buy used or burned out units, hose them down, and apply a coat of paint.

**The bright spot** — "BANGKOK, Thailand (Reuters) — Western arms manufacturers, hit by a climate of peace in the world, are competing hard for markets in

Asia, where they still see a potential for strife, arms experts and manufacturers said."

**The liberty gang** — The coffin nail industry argues that creation of no-smoking areas tramples on civil liberties. Meanwhile, in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, home of R.J. Reynolds Tobacco, the local daily yanked a Doonesbury strip about an applicant for an RJR executive job who couldn't repeat with a straight face that tobacco does not cause cancer.

**"Keeps you regular"?** — We have been unable to confirm the rumor that the new team at RJR Nabisco is planning to market a shredded wheat cigarette.

## CALENDAR

### ALABAMA

#### Birmingham

**The Palestinian Struggle Today.** Speakers: Khalil Jarrar, former resident of the West Bank; Dave Ferguson, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 7, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

**The Struggle for Black Rights Today.** Speakers: Saahara Glaude, announcer for WENN Radio; Colonel Stone Johnson, chairperson Birmingham chapter National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; representative Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 14, 7:30 p.m. 1306 1st Ave. N. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

### ARIZONA

#### Phoenix

**One Year Later: What the Palestinian Revolt Has Won.** A panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 14, 7 p.m. 1809 W Indian School Rd. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 279-5850.

### CALIFORNIA

#### Los Angeles

**A March and Demonstration to Free the Children of South Africa.** Mon., Jan. 16, 11 a.m. March from former site of South African consulate, 9107 Wilshire Blvd. (Gibraltar Bldg.), Beverly Hills, to current location of consulate, 50 N La Cienega, near La Cienega and Wilshire. Sponsor: Los Angeles Student Coalition, Southern Christian Leadership Conference. For more information call (213) 250-5500.

#### Oakland

**Celebrate Cuba's Triumph!** Party and cultural event with Conjunto Céspedes. Music, food, speakers, surprises! Sat., Jan. 7, 7 p.m. Capp Street Center, 362 Capp St. Donation: \$8-\$12, sliding scale. Committee to Celebrate the 30th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. For more information call (415) 431-4617.

### FLORIDA

#### Miami

**30 Years of the Cuban Revolution.** Speakers: Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *New International*, national leader of Socialist Workers

Party, recently returned from 30th anniversary celebration in Cuba; Rita Vega, Association of Caribbean Studies. Translation to Spanish and French. Sat., Jan. 7. Dinner 5:30 p.m.; program 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2; dinner \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

### GEORGIA

#### Atlanta

**Cuba: 30th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution.** Video: *Roots and History of the Cuban Revolution*. Speaker: Ellen Berman, Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 442. Sat., Jan. 7, 7:30 p.m. 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd floor. Donation: \$2.50. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

### MARYLAND

#### Baltimore

**FENASTRAS Trade Union Congress: Report Back from El Salvador.** Speakers: Ike Nahem, Socialist Workers Party, member United Transportation Union Local 1522; José Peña, representative of FENASTRAS in the United States. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 7. Dinner 6 p.m.; program 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2, dinner \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

### MICHIGAN

#### Detroit

**Stop Nuclear and Toxic Waste Dumps.** Speakers: Mary Sinclair, co-chair, Don't Waste Michigan and founder, Great Lakes Energy Alliance; Mike Keegan, chairperson, Coalition for a Nuclear-Free Great Lakes, anti-Fermi 2 nuke activist; Audie Shelby, chairman United Auto Workers Region 1A Toxic Waste Squad, UAW Local 898. Sat., Jan. 14, 7:30 p.m. 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 831-1177.

### MINNESOTA

#### Austin

**The Significance of the Civil Rights Movement: Celebrate Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Birthday.** Speaker: August Nimtz, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 14, 7 p.m. 407 1/2 N Main St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (515) 246-1695.

information call (507) 433-3461.

### NEBRASKA

#### Omaha

**Political Perspectives in the U.S.: Into the 1990s.** Speaker: Joe Swanson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Omaha, member United Steelworkers of America Local 3166. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 7, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

**The Fight for Native American Rights.** Speakers: representative of Leonard Peltier Defense Committee; Teri Dameron, Omaha Native American Development Corp.; Margrethe Siem, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 14, 7:30 p.m. 140 S 40th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 553-0245.

### NEW JERSEY

#### Newark

**Why Uprising in Palestine Continues.** A panel discussion. Translation to Spanish and French. Sat., Jan. 7, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**Celebrate the 10th Anniversary of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.** Representatives from Laos and Vietnam; David Elder, American Friends Service Committee (presentation and slideshow); Chan Bun Han, Khmer Association and Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos; traditional Khmer dinner and Khmer music. Sat., Jan. 7, 2 to 6 p.m., Casa de las Americas, 104 W 14th St. Donation: \$8 (\$6 fixed income). Sponsor: Khmer Association in the USA and Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos. For more information call (718) 816-8714 or (212) 228-3401.

### OHIO

#### Cleveland

**Glasnost, Perestroika, and the Soviet Union Today.** Speaker: Scott Ware, Socialist Workers Party, member United Transportation Union. Sat., Jan. 7, 7:30 p.m. 2521 Market Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-6150.

information call (216) 861-6150.

### TEXAS

#### Houston

**Defending the Gains of the Civil Rights Movement.** Speakers: Willie Mae Reid, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-367; Earl L. Davis, Shell worker involved in a discrimination suit against the company. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 14, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

### CANADA

#### Toronto

**Why Working People Should Defend the Linguistic and National Rights of the Québécois.** Speaker: Michel Dugré, garment worker and leader of the Revolutionary Workers League. Sat., Jan. 7, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide, Suite 400. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Socialist Voice Forum. For more information call (416) 861-1399.

**Cancel Third World Debt: Canadian Imperialism in the Caribbean.** Speaker: Susan Berman, recently returned from a four-week, five-island Caribbean tour to promote Pathfinder books. Sat., Jan. 14, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Socialist Voice Forum. For more information call (416) 861-1399.

### ICELAND

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# Washington threatens bombing raid on Libya

Continued from front page

requested an emergency meeting of the UN Security Council to condemn the "pre-meditated act of aggression."

The incident took place in the wake of President Ronald Reagan's declaration in a December 21 television interview that Washington was consulting with U.S. allies about options, including a bombing raid, to destroy a Libyan factory.

The U.S. government says that the factory, located near the capital city of Tripoli, produces chemical weapons. No evidence for the U.S. charge, which the Libyan government denies, has been made public.

On December 30 a 13-ship battle group, including the aircraft carrier *Theodore Roosevelt*, left Norfolk, Virginia, for the Mediterranean, where it is joining the USS *John F. Kennedy* and a dozen naval vessels already stationed there.

In the aftermath of the latest clash, Reagan claimed that a military strike on the Libyan factory had been ruled out for the time being because of disagreements among U.S. allies. Carlucci said he foresaw no military action before the conclusion of the January 7-11 international conference in Paris on chemical weapons, which representatives of 140 governments, including Libya's, are to attend.

Carlucci's self-defense justification for the latest clash was greeted with widespread skepticism, in part because of Reagan's prior public threat and the U.S. record of military operations against Libya since 1981.

An editorial in the January 5 *New York Times* conceded, "Given the unreliability of the Pentagon's initial account of the Iranian airliner tragedy last year, there is every reason to withhold judgment about this episode."

In Congress both Republicans and Democrats supported shooting down the Libyan planes. "Our pilots took appropriate defensive action," stated Sen. Christopher Dodd (D.-Conn.). Les Aspin (D.-Wisc.), head of the House Armed Services Committee, portrayed Qaddafi as "notoriously paranoid in recent days about the possibility of some kind of American attack."

Reagan's December 21 threat to attack Libya came less than a week after the U.S. government had reversed its 13-year refusal to hold talks with leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The shift registered the setback dealt to the Israeli regime, Washington's main ally in the Middle East, by the Palestinian uprising.

Stepped-up operations against Libya aim

at asserting U.S. dominance in the Mideast in the face of that setback and keeping pressure on the PLO and other forces in the region that oppose U.S. government policies.

## Airliner bombing

The December 21 explosion of Pan American Flight 103 over Scotland, killing 270 people, came as U.S. officials were laying the basis for the anti-Libya moves.

British investigators concluded December 28 that the explosion had been caused by the detonation of a bomb, apparently in the luggage compartment.

Reagan administration officials said they were operating on the "working hypothesis" that the bombing was organized by a terrorist group. Although they admitted having no evidence, State Department and FBI officials quickly declared several Palestinian groups to be suspects. Two were split-offs from the Palestine Liberation Organization.

FBI Executive Assistant Director Oliver Revell attempted to cast suspicion on a third group supposedly linked to PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat.

Articles in the *New York Times*, *Newsweek*, and other publications suggested that "an outlaw country like Libya" (as *Newsweek* put it) was involved.

President Reagan vowed retribution. The prospect of U.S. military action, he said in a radio broadcast, "ought to be giving some people sleepless nights."

The U.S. government was "not helpless," insisted president-elect George Bush. He suggested that warplanes, cruise missiles, or commando raids could be used.

Arafat denounced the airplane massacre and offered to aid efforts to find those responsible. "The PLO wants to aid the

Americans" in getting to the bottom of "this particularly odious crime," declared PLO representative Ibrahim Souss. He said the bombing "was directed against all efforts to find a peaceful, political solution" to the Palestine conflict.

In a January 1 statement, Qaddafi denied that the governments of Libya, Syria, or Iran had been involved in the airliner explosion.

## Solidarity with Libya

The PLO and the governments of Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, and Syria have pledged to back Libya in the event of a U.S. attack. Arafat called the shooting down of the Libyan planes "very serious" and said it would "affect negatively the Middle East peace process."

Arab League spokesperson Clovis Mak-soud said that Arab countries "felt solidarity with Libya against this American attack." The Arab League Council had earlier declared that an attack on Libya would have "serious repercussions" on U.S. relations with member countries. The Islamic Conference Organization called on Washington to refrain from military action.

The British government, Washington's closest European ally, had backed away from supporting an attack on Libya or other countries in "retaliation" for the bombing. "I don't think an eye for an eye or a tooth for a tooth is ever valid," stated Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher January 1.

While British officials don't appear to be advocating military attacks at this time, they are promoting Washington's campaign against the alleged Libyan production of chemical weapons.

The U.S. government has run into obstacles in its effort to convince public opinion that the factory near Tripoli is a threat.

On December 30, the Libyan govern-

ment offered to open the facility, which it says is a pharmaceutical plant, to international inspection. The White House rejected the Libyan offer.

On January 4, William Burns, director of the government's Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, demanded that the Libyan government tear down the plant. He rejected any form of inspection or monitoring as an alternative.

## U.S. claims challenged

Another administration official conceded that the plant might produce pharmaceutical products, as Libyan officials say. "What Qaddafi has is a flexible chemical manufacturing plant," the spokesperson claimed. "He can make anything from antibiotics to pesticides to poison gas."

On January 1, the *New York Times* reported that U.S. officials had concluded that Imhausen-Chemie, a West German firm, had played a central role in designing and constructing what was now described only as a "vast chemical plant."

"But the company had absolutely nothing to do with the allegations now concerning the plant presumed to be making chemical weapons in Libya," responded company President Jurgen Hippenstiel-Imhausen. "We have no employees there, no technicians there either. We haven't had people there for years."

West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher declared January 4 that his government had found no evidence yet to back up the U.S. claims about Imhausen-Chemie. West German official Norbert Schaefer stated January 2 that satellite photographs provided by Washington had failed to confirm that the factory was designed to produce chemical weapons.

# Farmers grasp stakes in Curtis frame-up

Continued from Page 5

ganize support from working farmers.

In an interview at the defense committee office here a couple of weeks after the trial, Fitzgerald described the arguments of those who oppose the Curtis defense effort. Some farm activists who are concerned about the involvement of right-wing groups in the farm movement work with the FBI and cops to finger alleged ultraright elements, she pointed out. This collaboration with the police has led some of them to become pro-cop, and has reinforced anticommunist ideas. They tend to side with the Des Moines police against Curtis, and are predisposed to support Curtis' prosecution simply because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

The Oct. 9, 1988, *Des Moines Register* did a feature on the SWP in Iowa. It quoted David Ostendorf, executive director of Prairiefire, a group that helps Iowa farmers. According to the *Register*, Ostendorf "said his group disavows any relationship with the Socialist Workers. He said he's troubled by their tactics in defending Curtis..."

## Are courts and police fair?

Merle Hansen, a farm activist for more than 40 years, has issued a statement addressing some of the arguments of those in the farm movement who have refused so far to support this fight. Hansen also attended the trial.

"Some people have said they think Mark Curtis is innocent," the Nebraska farmer said, "but it's not their concern because he's a communist; that they should stay on safe ground and out of controversy, especially since they don't like the way the SWP operates. Others have taken the word of the police and prosecution's evidence as gospel. But I say just the fact that Mark Curtis is a prime candidate for a frame-up and holds unpopular beliefs is all the more reason that we must be concerned that justice be served."

Hansen continued, "Many people in this country find it hard to believe that someone could be framed up and railroaded but like so many myths about our country there is a history of many frame-ups and I believe this is one of them."

Hansen explained that Curtis was sin-

gled out for his activities in the labor movement and antiwar struggle, his defense of the rights of Blacks and Latinos, and his membership in the SWP.

"Are the courts and police always fair?" asked Hansen. "They represent who owns political power."

He then told the story of Darrell Ringer, a Kansas farmer who has also faced police

frame-up and harassment. "When Darrell Ringer went before the judge in Kansas, he was told, 'When you come into this court against the bank, you are wrong.' Outside of simple traffic court and lower-level cases, the judicial and law enforcement agencies represent property, and property owns the political power."

(To be continued)

## —10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

### THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE  
Jan. 12, 1979

Recurrent crises of the dollar dominated world economic news in 1978. At the beginning of the year, again in April, and then in August, the Carter administration acted to halt an ever-steepening decline of the once mighty greenback in world money markets.

The growing tendency of international banks and multinational corporations, and even some governments, to dump dollars reflects the deepening contradictions of the world capitalist economy and the inability of even the most powerful imperialist power to overcome them. World overproduction and chronic unemployment exist side by side with soaring prices. Huge trade surpluses in Japan and West Germany have grown up alongside an even bigger U.S. trade deficit.

Competition between giant monopoly concerns and among industrialized and industrializing capitalist countries continues to intensify, leading to more calls for protectionist trade barriers and new efforts to "restructure" profit-threatened industries.

### THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People  
Jan. 13, 1964 Price 10¢

A giant rally in Havana's Plaza de la Revolución, celebrating the fifth anniversary of the Cuban revolution, heard Premier Fidel Castro deliver a fascinating speech

January 2 on Cuba's economic situation, its increasingly favorable position in the world market, and its excellent prospects for significant economic advances.

The speech imparted a sense of the revolution's tremendous achievement in staying firmly in power during five years of unrelenting U.S. efforts to destroy it.

To accomplish this near-miraculous feat, Castro explained, Cuba's entire social and economic structure had to be transformed. And as this anticapitalist transformation progressed, he added, so too was the mentality of the people transformed into one of deepest revolutionary consciousness.

But, he added, "In the midst of our legitimate revolutionary pride and of our legitimate revolutionary satisfaction for what the Cuban people accomplished, we must keep in mind that the Cuban revolution was possible only because of the new conditions existing in the world."

"The Cuban revolution is part of the very powerful movement of liberation of the oppressed peoples, of the exploited and colonized peoples. Our revolution is part of that very powerful world revolutionary movement that started with the historic revolution of the workers and farmers of the Soviet Union — the revolution of Lenin — the revolution of Marx and Engels."

Despite the drain of being compelled to remain on the military alert, he said, the revolution has succeeded in raising the standard of living for the masses of people. He cited a December 31 *New York Times* editorial which conceded that in Cuba today, "All children are receiving some education, the majority are being well fed and well cared for, regardless of how poor their parents may be."

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## Rights victory for Los Angeles 8

A federal judge has ruled that resident immigrants cannot be denied the constitutional rights afforded to citizens. He also found unconstitutional a reactionary clause in immigration law aimed specifically at Palestinians.

This landmark victory for democratic rights was won by the Los Angeles 8 — seven Palestinians and the Kenyan wife of one — who the government has been trying to deport as supporters of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

In response to the deportation moves, the eight filed a suit challenging the constitutionality of provisions of the McCarran-Walter immigration act, which provide for the expulsion of immigrants deemed to be advocating "subversive" ideas.

In December 1987, Congress voted a one-year suspension of immigration law provisions that permit the government to deny entry to, or expel, immigrants believed to harbor such ideas. At the same time, Congress specifically exempted members of the Palestine Liberation Organization from such relief.

In his December 22 ruling, Judge Stephen Wilson declared the anti-PLO proviso unconstitutional, along with four sections of the McCarran-Walter Act permitting deportation for the expression of ideas.

Insisting that legally resident immigrants do not have the same rights as citizens, the Justice Department immediately declared it would challenge Judge Wilson's decision in higher courts.

The Los Angeles 8 were arrested in January 1987, seven of them at gunpoint. Initially all eight were charged with violating the ideological provisions of the immigration act.

This blatant trampling on democratic rights evoked strong protest from a broad range of organizations and notables.

After several setbacks in the review process inside the INS itself, the immigration cops then dropped the McCarran charges against six of the eight, who were in the United States on visitors' visas. But the government is still trying to deport them on technicalities.

The other two — Khader Hamide and Michel Shehadeh — have legal resident status and therefore can't be deported simply on technicalities. So the government continued the McCarran charges against them.

In ruling that their First Amendment rights had been denied, Judge Wilson, a Reagan appointee, at the same time noted that the government still has the right to bar immigrants who it considers to be sexually deviant, retarded, destitute, or otherwise undesirable.

## Beware those 'friendly skies'

For a number of days after the December 21 explosion on a Pan American passenger jet that resulted in at least 270 deaths, the cause remained in doubt. Investigators pursued the possibility that mechanical or structural problems in the 18-year-old aircraft were responsible.

In March, a wing slat had dropped off the plane as it left Karachi, Pakistan. An engine failed in April. Since 1980, the plane had experienced 20 significant service problems — evidently not an unusual amount. The aircraft underwent substantial reconstruction and repair in 1987.

Investigators concluded that there was no evidence that structural or mechanical failure played a role, and that the destruction of the plane was caused by a bomb.

But the explosion and the investigation that followed drew more attention to potentially murderous structural weaknesses in U.S. airlines' aging fleets of planes.

Last April, part of the cabin walls and roof blew off an Aloha Airlines Boeing 737 jet, sweeping a flight attendant to her death. The Aloha jet had made 90,000 flights — 15,000 more than its designers had allowed for.

On December 26, a hole developed in the skin of an Eastern Airlines Boeing 727. The plane lost cabin pressure, forcing an emergency landing.

Two days later, Eastern management announced that

three of its 727s were being grounded, two because of cracks in the fuselage and another due to corrosion. Of the Boeing jets now in use by airlines, 567 are more than 20 years old, and 511 have chalked up more flight hours than they were designed for.

The multimillionaire owners of the airlines often say that their drive to cut wages, speed up work, and slash union rights is a way to provide better service to passengers.

But from the breaking of the air controllers' strike in 1981 to today's speedup and layoffs of pilots, mechanics, ramp workers, and others, the safety of the airways has been a casualty of the employers' drive to maintain or increase profit rates.

Flight attendants, mechanics, pilots and other airline workers at all U.S. airlines are under growing pressure to work faster, longer, and more unsafely for less pay. Union rights, which make it more possible for workers to enforce safety rules in the face of company speedup demands, are under attack.

Like wages and working conditions, the inspection, replacement, and repair of aging aircraft are the target of cutbacks and corner-cutting.

While the employers profit, the lives of airline workers and passengers are placed in greater jeopardy.

## Hands off Libya!

Continued from front page

icy, decide what kind of factories or armaments they may have, or own their oil or other resources, Washington labels them "terrorist."

That label is used to justify the campaign of terrorism that Washington has carried out against the Libyan people, as well as against the peoples of Nicaragua, Cuba, Iran, and other countries.

In an attempt to bring the Libyan government to heel, Washington has murdered many Libyan civilians and soldiers.

In August 1981, U.S. warplanes shot down two Libyan jets over the Gulf of Sidra, off the Libyan coast. In March 1986, 56 Libyans died when forces from a U.S. armada occupying the gulf opened fire on Libyan patrol boats and bombarded the town of Sidra.

On April 14, 1986, 30 U.S. bombers roared over the cities of Tripoli and Benghazi, bombing "military targets" that included apartment buildings in Tripoli and the Benghazi Rehabilitation Center for the Disabled. Scores were killed. Many children were among the dead and injured.

One of the dead was the infant daughter of Libyan head of state Muammar el-Qaddafi. She was killed when U.S. jets dropped four 2,000-pound bombs on the barracks where he lived in an unsuccessful assassination attempt. In preparation for the bombings, the National Security Council had prepared a news release claiming that Qaddafi's death was "fortuitous."

Secretary of State George Shultz publicly called for a military coup to oust Qaddafi and replace him with someone acceptable to Washington.

The U.S. government broke diplomatic relations with Libya and imposed an economic embargo. On several occasions U.S. officials attempted to persuade the govern-

ment of Egypt, which has a common border with Libya, to participate in an invasion of Libya.

Despite the price in blood that the Libyan people have paid for their defiance, Washington has little to show for more than seven years of aggressive acts.

Qaddafi remains in power, and his government continues to defy U.S. dictates. Nor have Washington's allies gone along with U.S. demands that they end all economic and diplomatic dealings with Libya.

The latest step-up in the attack on Libya has centered on the unproven charge — denied by the Libyan government — that a newly constructed chemical plant will produce poison gas.

If the charge were true, Libya would be one of many countries — with the sanctimonious U.S. government leading the pack — that today produces chemical weapons.

In December 1987, the U.S. government ended an 18-year moratorium on production of chemical weapons. A proposal by the Soviet government to continue the moratorium was rejected. Moscow had halted production earlier that year.

As with so many other U.S. claims about Libya, the one about the chemical plant may prove to be a fabrication.

But in any case, the Reagan administration has no business denying Libya — a country under constant threat of U.S. attack — the right to weapons that Washington insists on having in its arsenal of terror. If the U.S. government wants other countries to end production of chemical weapons, let it set an example by halting production here and destroying the stockpiles now.

The working people of the United States should join our brothers and sisters around the world in saying: Hands off Libya!

## Should farmers defend restrictive trade accords?

BY DOUG JENNESS

On January 1 the free trade agreement between the U.S. and Canadian governments went into effect. Over the next 10 years most tariffs and trade restrictions between the two countries are scheduled to be phased out.

A few weeks before, in an article in the *Guardian*, a New York-based radical weekly, Terry Pugh, writing from Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, reported that the pact "is sending Canada's farmers reeling." Citing statements by

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

officials of Canada's National Farmers Union (NFU), he detailed some "negative ramifications" of the new agreement.

The chief one, Pugh said, is that farmers' income in Canada will decline. He quoted NFU President Wayne Easter, "Both U.S.-and Canadian-owned processors will be pressing for reductions in prices they pay for farm commodities in order to remain competitive." The result, Pugh argued, is that many farmers will be forced off the land.

Pugh added, "Canadian grain growers have also lost exclusive access to their national market for milling-quality wheat, as Canadian processors will be free to import grain from the cheapest supplier." (emphasis added)

Pugh is the editor of the NFU's monthly newspaper *Union Farmer* and is the assistant editor of the *North American Farmer*, published in Ames, Iowa. As a first-class journalist he has helped educate a good many people about the plight of working farmers in both Canada and the United States. Moreover, he is one of the foremost figures in the farmers' movement attempting to weld closer ties between farmers on both sides of the border.

Pugh's support for the campaign against the trade agreement, however, is out of whack with his internationalist aims and activity.

The debate about the free trade agreement in both Canada and the United States has been over which capitalist proposal and which group of capitalists workers and farmers in each country should block with to try to save their farms or jobs. This is a trap for farmers as much as it is for workers. The most negative aspect has been the chauvinist campaign waged by union officials, farmer leaders, and New Democratic Party bureaucrats to protect Canadian jobs, Canadian workers, Canadian markets, and Canadian farmers. This nationalist drive against the trade pact undermines, rather than strengthens, international solidarity between workers and farmers on both sides of the border. It implies there are national interests that working farmers have in common with at least some capitalist processors and merchants in Canada.

But there are no special Canadian interests or U.S. interests that will help unify working people in struggle against the exploiting classes.

To give even an inch on this opens the door to reinforcing reactionary nationalist ideas and mobilizations, rather than advancing exploited farmers' and workers' understanding of their common class interests.

Pugh doesn't say it, but the only way his argumentation about "Canadian grain growers" and the "national market" makes sense is that Canadians as Canadians are oppressed by U.S. imperialism. But Canada is not an oppressed nation; rather it's one of the foremost imperialist powers in the world. Canadian nationalism, like U.S., French, British, and Japanese nationalism, is reactionary through and through.

Pugh himself has written extensively about the billions of dollars robbed from working farmers by the Canadian Pacific and Canadian National railways and the Bank of Canada and other big banks. The capitalist government on a federal and provincial level contributes to the ruin of farmers by restricting agricultural credit and dismantling aid programs such as subsidies for grain transportation.

Pugh and other NFU leaders warn about the impending crisis for farmers resulting from the new trade accord. But the fact is that farmers on both sides of the border have, for the past decade, been in the deepest crisis they've faced since the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Moreover, many signs, including the 1987 stock market crash, point to a generalized economic crisis for the capitalist system. This will bring even more devastating conditions raining down on working farmers.

Farmers in both Canada and the United States were guaranteed worsening conditions whether or not the trade agreement was adopted. What's needed in the face of this situation is not proposals aimed at propping up the capitalist system or making the market work better for the farmers of a particular country or region, which is the framework of supporting restrictive tariffs.

The key is to mobilize around demands that can unify working farmers of all countries with each other and with wage workers for protection from the dreadful conditions bred by this system and the even worse ravages that are coming.



# Child abuse, wife beating on trial in New York

BY CINDY JAQUITH

(First of two parts)

NEW YORK — A trial is under way here that casts a glaring light on the crimes of child abuse and wife abuse. Joel Steinberg, a 47-year-old lawyer, faces second-degree murder charges in the death of six-year-old Lisa Steinberg, his illegally adopted daughter.

The prosecution charges that one day in November 1987, Joel Steinberg smashed Lisa's head so hard she went into a coma. Steinberg then went out to dinner. His

## AS I SEE IT

companion, Hedda Nussbaum, stayed at home, told by Steinberg not to worry about the child: "Just let her sleep."

It was not until the next morning that Steinberg ordered Nussbaum to call an ambulance. But it was too late: Lisa died three days later of a brain hemorrhage.

Nussbaum was originally arrested on second-degree murder charges as well. But the charges were dropped. The prosecution stated that she was too physically and emotionally abused by Steinberg to have been able to act responsibly the night Lisa received the fatal blow.

Nussbaum has now become the prosecution's main witness. She has testified that Steinberg subjected Lisa to repeated physical and sexual abuse since she was a baby, including allowing his friends to sexually abuse the child.

Nussbaum said she was brutalized by Steinberg over a period of at least nine years. In the course of beating her he ruptured her spleen, broke her knee, broke her nose, broke several ribs, burned her with a propane torch, knocked out teeth, and psychologically tortured her.

Some commentators are presenting the case as "bizarre," suggesting that child abuse and wife abuse of this sort is very rare. But at least 2 million children are abused every year, and 1,200 of them die, either from outright physical violence or from neglect. Another 2 million women are physically abused by their husbands

or companions every year. These are very conservative estimates.

The actual total of abuse victims is much higher, but many children and women are afraid to report what they are suffering, or they may feel that they themselves are to blame. In Nussbaum's case, she told the court she always lied to her doctors about how she had received her wounds in order to protect Steinberg.

One of the doctors who treated Nussbaum repeatedly, but never reported her situation to the appropriate authorities, was Peter Sarosi. He happened to be a friend of Steinberg's.

Sarosi not only covered up for Steinberg's violence, however. He was also directly involved with Steinberg in a related crime that has received less attention from the media: the illegal adoption racket.

Sarosi is an obstetrician at Beth Israel hospital. In 1986 he had delivered a baby whose mother felt unable to raise the child. Sarosi offered to place the boy with adoptive parents. Instead, Sarosi turned the infant over to Steinberg. (The child, Mitchell, was also abused by Steinberg. The city returned Mitchell to his natural mother after Lisa's murder was discovered.)

Steinberg had also illegally obtained Lisa when she was a newborn baby. Lisa's mother, who was single and very young, paid Steinberg \$500 to place the infant with adoptive parents. Steinberg took the money and then kept Lisa for himself.

The illegal adoption side of the case came more to the fore recently when Sarosi was convicted of a misdemeanor for giving Mitchell to Steinberg. But the judge, who said Sarosi was an "admirable, highly respected, and beloved physician," refused to give him a prison term. Instead, Sarosi got three years' probation. The judge said it was unfair for Sarosi to be "singled out as an object of public ridicule, hatred, and scorn." (Mitchell's grandmother, on the other hand, called for throwing Sarosi into the same cell as Joel Steinberg.)

Public debate here on the exploitation and abuse of children has also centered on another case, the December beating death of five-year-old Jessica Cortez. Jessica's

mother and companion face second-degree murder charges.

The case has drawn special attention because city social welfare agencies were aware of a pattern of abuse and did not intercede to rescue the child from the household.

Mayor Edward Koch has come under criticism in Jessica's case for inadequate funding of child welfare programs and negligence on the part of city officials responsible for protecting minors. According to official statistics, 126 New York children died in 1988 from abuse. In half the cases, city agencies had prior reports of the danger.

While vigorously denouncing those who abuse their children as "rats in a cage eating their young," Koch says only a few of last year's 126 victims "could have been saved if everything were perfectly done."

His reasoning: for the city to intervene more directly in family situations where abuse is suspected would be an invasion of privacy. It would be like a return to Nazi Germany, he says, and "We're never going to want to have that privacy invasion."

The fact is that child abuse and wife abuse have nothing to do with any kind of right to privacy. It is a conquest of the labor movement, and more recently the women's rights struggle, that mistreatment of children or female companions is less and less viewed as a "private" or "personal" matter immune from state interference to protect the victims.

The changed consciousness on these questions is relatively new, as are the laws that exist offering some protection against this kind of abuse.

In a column next week, we will look at how the working class has made substantial progress over the last century in establishing that children are human beings, who deserve government protection and care. We will look at the same change in attitudes toward the rights of women — including their right to be free of violence from any source — in just the last two decades. And we will refute Mayor Koch's assertion that nothing can be done to stop the crimes of child abuse and wife abuse.

## LETTERS

### More on El Salvador

I really enjoy getting your paper. In fact, I look forward to it. I hate to rely on the mainstream media because it lies so much.

Please more on El Salvador as it is hard to get the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front's magazine.

L.M.  
Hawthorne, California.

(A one-year subscription to the FMLN's bimonthly English-language publication *Venceremos*, can be obtained for \$20 from Venceremos Publications, P.O. Box 2104, New York, N.Y. 10008.)

### Curtis I

The complexity of the crisis under capitalism necessitates a very extensive coverage. Notwithstanding the severity and urgency of the Mark Curtis case, I feel a disproportionately large amount of space is being sacrificed here on a single issue at the expense of others.

M.D.  
Ottawa, Canada

### Curtis II

Keep up the good work. Enjoy reading about Mark Curtis. I'm a butcher myself, so I and my co-workers can relate in some ways to Mark.

Have a friend who is Guatemalan. He says there is much trouble there; would like to hear about what's going on there if possible. I enjoyed the article about Russia.

K.N.  
Lemoore, California

### Prisoner helps Curtis

I enjoy reading *Militants* as well as receiving them. The paper keeps me informed on what is happening in the Third World countries.

I just sent \$10 to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. It's a step, and I hope that it can be of some help to him.

A prisoner  
Trenton, New Jersey



The Wizard of Id

### 'Bulletin' lies

I met several people from the Mark Curtis Defense Committee when they visited here at the University of Northern Iowa campus. They have since informed me that the *Bulletin* has been publishing lies about the Curtis case.

I've found from personal experience that the *Bulletin* publishes lies. In March 1971 that publication ran an article by Jacques Gagnon titled "Haitians must fight for socialism." The article stated that there was, in Haiti, a group called the "Gerald Baker Brigade," which was supported by "the United Nations and American imperialism."

At that time I wrote the *Bulletin* questioning that statement. They did not reply. I also wrote to several federal agencies, such as the State Department, and to the *New York Times*, asking whether any such brigade existed. They all replied that they'd never heard of any such thing.

I had been active, during the 1960s, in the "Walden Two" movement, as its chief national coordinator. During that time, I replied to around 3,000 inquirers, and organized national conventions in 1967, '68 and '69 at the Allerton Park Center of the University of Illinois. I was occasionally mentioned in the underground press, and am mentioned on pages 4 and 6 of the book *Journal of a Walden*

*Two Communes*, and in Dick Fairfield's book *Communes, U.S.A.*

I had been the victim of McCarthyite blacklisting, which was the subject of an article about me in the *Mensa International Journal* (London) in 1973. When I finally obtained, under the Freedom of Information Act, more than 500 pages from the files that had been accumulated about me by various federal agencies, the *Northern Iowan*, student paper of the University of Northern Iowa, did a four-page feature story titled "The Case of Gerald Leo Baker."

I have never had any connection with Haiti. I think the reference to a "Gerald Baker Brigade" in the *Bulletin* was just a frivolous lie. The publishers of that paper were apparently confident that their readers would believe anything, without ever checking the facts.

Gerald Baker  
Cedar Falls, Iowa

### Palestinian uprising

Demanding an end to the Israeli occupation, recognition of the Palestinian state, and support of the Palestine Liberation Organization, some 50 people gathered in downtown Greensboro, North Carolina to commemorate the first anniversary of the Palestinian uprising.

Many supporters carried the Palestinian flag. One woman commented that in Gaza and the West Bank as well as in Israel, display-

ing the flag or even wearing the black, red, green, and white colors of Palestine is not permitted.

Information sheets were given to those passing by explaining the history of the Palestinian struggle and the role of the U.S. government in aiding Israel with money and arms.

The rally was sponsored by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, General Union of Palestinian Students, and Youth Club of the Federation of Ramallah, Palestine.

Sherrie Love  
Greensboro, North Carolina

### Pratt & Whitney

A contract was ratified recently by members of the International Association of Machinists at the Hartford, Connecticut, plant of Pratt & Whitney. The IAM represents 9,000 of the 13,000 workers there.

The company is one of only two U.S. producers of large military and commercial aircraft engines. The other is General Electric, and workers there accepted a similar contract in July.

The Pratt & Whitney vote to ratify was extremely close — 3,632 to 3,611 — expressing widespread unhappiness with the contract. Although it provided a 9 percent raise over three years and retained the cost-of-living adjustment, union members were unhappy with what they saw as takebacks in

their medical coverage.

The union's officials recommended acceptance of the contract.

Despite increased sales, both Pratt & Whitney and GE aircraft divisions have implemented thousands of layoffs recently as both companies have "farmed out" work to nonunion subcontractors.

Russell Davis  
Boston, Massachusetts

### Coover

I have been reading the *Militant* since I joined the party in 1938 in Youngstown, Ohio. I was a party member in Los Angeles when Oscar Coover, Jr., was the organizer. Sorry to hear of his death.

M.P.  
Las Vegas, Nevada

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to: *Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund*, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.



## Canada protests hit killing of Black

### Demand Toronto cops who shot Wade Lawson be brought to justice

BY GEORGE A. ROSE

TORONTO — Black community groups here are determined to continue actions demanding murder charges against the cops who killed Michael Wade Lawson. Lawson, an unarmed Black teenager, was shot in the back of the head December 8 by two cops in the Toronto suburb of Mississauga. The cops claim he was driving a stolen car.

"The police can't continue to make widows of our sisters and orphans of our children," Dudley Laws of the Black Action Defence Committee told an angry protest meeting at Mississauga Civic Center December 20.

"If any one of you went out and killed a police officer, you would be charged with murder immediately. When they commit murder they too should be charged! Are we not human beings as well? We want action, we want charges laid immediately!"

The meeting, which drew 100 people, was the latest of several public events demanding justice for Wade Lawson.

On December 14 more than 800 people crowded into the funeral services for the slain youth.

Three days later more than 200 protesters marched on the Division 12 police station in Mississauga chanting, "What do we want? Murder charge!"

Lawson and another Black youth were driving slowly down a residential street in Mississauga, in front of Lawson's aunt's home, when two plainclothes cops opened fire in the early evening of December 8. The cops claim that the car was stolen, that they identified themselves as police, and that they opened fire "in defense of their lives" when Lawson drove straight at them.

#### Shot from behind

But Lawson was shot in the back of the head, and only the back window of the car was shot out. His friend (who cannot be identified because he has been charged as a young offender with possession of stolen property) says he heard no warning and had no idea they were being chased, until bul-



Militant/George A. Rose

Dudley Laws of the Black Action Defence Committee speaking at Toronto rally to protest police murder of Michael Wade Lawson. Rally demanded that charges be brought against the cops for Lawson's death.

lets smashed through the rear window and into Lawson's brain. He says he was dragged from the car after the shooting, handcuffed to a tree, and beaten by cops, who called him a "fucking nig jig."

"The only time I knew they were cops was when they put the cuffs on me," he says.

Lawson, 17, was a popular student at Erindale Secondary School. He was captain of the hockey team and good at other sports, but his greatest love was music. He and two friends had plans to record a rap song before he was killed.

Since their story began to unravel, the police have refused further official comment, citing an Ontario Provincial Police investigation of the shooting. Solicitor-

General Joan Smith, who is in charge of police in the province, promised the OPP report — and a decision on whether to lay charges against the police — by December 16.

That deadline came and went. Now the government says it must wait "several weeks" for forensic tests before issuing a report. In the meantime the two cops are on paid leave.

In a clear sign that the police were feeling the heat of the growing protests, the Toronto daily *Globe and Mail* published a front-page article on Christmas Eve based on "police sources" who had decided to speak out anonymously despite orders to not discuss the case with the media.

The article, replete with diagrams, proceeded to give a detailed police version of the shooting as a case of self-defense. The same sources confirmed earlier reports that the bullet that killed Lawson was a "dumdum" bullet, which expands on impact to cause devastating damage to the human body. These bullets are banned for police use in Ontario.

#### Another task force

Solicitor-General Smith has announced formation of a task force on relations between the police and "visible minorities." This ploy to defuse community anger has been strongly condemned by those demanding justice for Wade Lawson.

"I have before me four different reports" from four previous task forces," Akua Benjamin from the Black Action Defence Committee told the December 20 protest meeting. "Recommendations have been made in the past, but we still face police harassment, police brutality, and police murder. We need to lift this out of being a problem of the 'relationship' between the 'ethnic communities' and the police. It's not a 'relationship' that is wrong, it's the police force that is wrong!"

Dudley Laws recalled the most infamous cases of other Blacks slain by Toronto police. Buddy Evans, unarmed, facing five police officers, was shot down in a Toronto disco in 1978. A coroner's inquest was held; no charges were laid.

"One year later," Laws said, "we saw the brutal murder of Albert Johnson in his own home, where police officers forced their way into his house and murdered him in front of his own daughter." Johnson had been systematically harassed by the police for some time.

In the wake of the Johnson killing, Catholic Cardinal Emmett Carter was named to

head a "race relations" task force.

Then in August 1988 Lester Donaldson was killed. Donaldson had also been a victim of frequent harassment; in fact, cops had shot and crippled him in a previous incident.

Again protest marches and meetings were held, the OPP was assigned to investigate, and Carter was to head up a task force.

#### 'Same route, same routine'

"While we are still awaiting those results," Laws said, "we now have another brutal slaying of a young man, Wade Lawson. What do we find? The attorney general and the solicitor-general going the same route, the same routine. We don't want another probe. What we want now is positive action."

In an open microphone discussion, one speaker recalled the case of Anthony Griffin in Montréal last year. Griffin had fled police, then obeyed an order to stop and was walking toward police with his hands up when cop Allan Gosset shot him between the eyes. Gosset was acquitted on manslaughter charges, but pressure of public protests forced his firing from the police force.

Statements of support to the struggle were warmly received at the December 20 meeting and at the earlier protest march where Frank Dreaver from the Leonard Peltier Defence Committee brought greetings from Native people and Harvey Bradley expressed solidarity from the Ontario Association of the Deaf.

Bob Rae, Ontario head of the New Democratic Party (a social-democratic party with links to the unions) and head of the official opposition in the Ontario provincial government, told the meeting he was calling for the appointment of a special prosecutor for cases of police violence.

Ned Dmytryshyn, a member of United Steelworkers of America, said that his local at a recent union meeting had voted to extend condolences to the family of Wade Lawson.

The potential for more union support was indicated when the *Militant* later interviewed Andre Kolompar, Toronto president of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW). He said he personally was "outraged" at the killing and would encourage the union to take a stand.

Kolompar recalled that during CUPW's strike last year, cops from the same Division 12 station in Mississauga assaulted pickets at the giant Gateway postal sorting station.

## Pickets defend abortion clinic in California

BY AMY BELVIN

SAN FRANCISCO — Chanting "Our bodies, our lives, women's right to decide," dozens of abortion rights defenders from throughout the Bay Area mounted a counter picket at Planned Parenthood in Fairfield, a small town north of Oakland, as the antiabortion group Operation Rescue attempted to shut the clinic down December 10.

Sitting cross-legged in rows in front of the clinic door, some 200 antiabortion protesters blocked the entrance as 40 others picketed. The counterpicket of those defending women's right to abortion swelled to more than 100 within half an hour.

Police stood on the sidelines and watched, only gradually beginning to arrest those from Operation Rescue. At the rate of one every 10 minutes, the blockaders were loaded into small vans.

But at 10:00 a.m. when the clinic was scheduled to open, the door was still solidly blocked. Planned Parenthood decided to shut down for the day and refer women to other facilities.

Many of the abortion rights supporters had gathered in San Francisco as part of a coordinated effort to respond to attacks by Operation Rescue on abortion clinics throughout the Bay Area.

After the Fairfield clinic shut down, they traveled to Concord, a town east of Oakland, where Operation Rescue had organized another blockade of some 200.

The Concord clinic was also forced to shut down for the day.

Lee Leitner of the San Francisco chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) discussed the clinic defense actions at a Militant Labor Forum later that day.

Leitner called for greater numbers to join the protests. She also urged participation in building the April 9 national abortion rights march in Washington, D.C., called by NOW.

Nicole Friedland of the California Abortion Rights Action League described legal battles against requiring teenagers to obtain parental consent for an abortion. Warning against the federal government's attempt to reverse the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, she noted, "If *Roe v. Wade* were overturned today, at least half the states would restrict or deny abortion."

Diane Wang of the Socialist Workers Party described the situation facing women before abortion was legalized. "Botched illegal abortion was the leading cause of maternal death," she noted.

Noting that "Operation Rescue is emboldened when there is no big public response to their attacks," Wang urged big participation in the April 9 NOW demonstration. "Abortion was won by a fight in the streets," she said, with large demonstrations and thousands of people mobilized.